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Churkin Expects B-H Talks To Resume 'Next Week'

AU1503080594 Paris AFP in English 2229 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Zagreb, March 14 (AFP)—A Russian envoy said Monday [14 March] he expected Bosnia's three warring factions to hold talks next week on an overall settlement to their nearly two-year-old war. The envoy, Vitaly Churkin, was speaking after talks here with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Earlier in the day he met in Belgrade with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on a plan for a Moslem-Croat federation designed to end the fighting in Bosnia.

Churkin said he would meet soon with U.S. and European diplomats "and then I hope we will be able to move towards the next stage of this effort, that is a closer discussion between all the three parties of all the issues remaining, to have a final political settlement of the conflict."

He added: "I think that something more flexible might emerge next week than what usually is called formal talks because ... there would be a need for some flexible and a rather quick action."

Plans for the proposed Moslem-Croat federation were finalized Sunday in Vienna. The U.S.-backed blueprint calls for the two groups to link their territories in a loose federation that could later be joined with Croatia. Bosnian Serbs could exist alongside the new entity in their own state and possibly join it later in some form.

Of his talks in Belgrade, Churkin said Milosevic was "thinking of ways, not to reject but to incorporate all possibilities in a global agreement, which would take account of the idea of a confederation."

On Sunday, Churkin visited the Serb stronghold of Pale, near Sarajevo, where he met Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament. Churkin suggested there that the self-declared Serb republic in Bosnia could join the federation and eventually be linked with the rump Yugoslav state, comprising Serbia and Montenegro.

According to the Serb news agency SRNA, Krajisnik told him it was "absurd to ask the Serb side to join a federation with Croats and Moslems (...) without being able to have the same links with the Serb people" in Croatia and the rump Yugoslavia.

Stoltenberg Interviewed on Bosniak-Croat Accord

AU1403180294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Mar 94

[Interview with Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia, by Lubos Palata; place and date not given: "Thorvald Stoltenberg: The End of War in Bosnia Is Coming Near"]

[Text] Trieste (From Our Special Correspondent)—Thorvald Stoltenberg is a cochairman of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia and the successor to Cyrus Vance in his post of the UN main negotiator. For many months he has been trying to mediate peace treaties between inimical parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is one of the most competent people to estimate, based on his own experience, the progress in the efforts at putting an end to the war in former Yugoslavia. Stoltenberg gave an interview to MLADA FRONTA DNES on this subject.

[Palata] Mr. Stoltenberg, how do you evaluate the most recent peace agreement concluded between Zagreb and the Bosnian Muslims and Croats in Washington?

[Stoltenberg] The Washington treaty is an interesting and important step in the right direction. I believe that the Muslims and Croats have embarked on the right road. They selected the correct time for this, and the document they signed is a very good basis for the peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Palata] Has the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina come any closer after the signing of the treaty?

[Stoltenberg] I hope so. It seems to me that a new situation has arisen.

Lord Owen and I have worked long and hard toward our goal, toward which the peace efforts must be aimed. Now, this may have succeeded, let us hope.

The European Union took the initiative before Christmas. Now, the United States and Russia have also joined in. I do not believe that it would be possible to arrive at the final goal without the European Union, Washington, and Moscow cooperating together.

[Palata] Does the treaty between the Croats and Muslims mean the end of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state?

[Stoltenberg] No, certainly not.

[Palata] Do you still believe that it would be possible to reestablish the country within its former borders?

[Stoltenberg] Yes. No peace efforts can solve everything, however. For a long time we have been failing to find a solution without imposing an ultimatum. We have nine theoretical models here, which look different in the field and different when you view them from a negotiating table. They cannot be implemented without an agreement between the parties at war. We cannot force people to live together. Look at the Middle East. Despite the treaties that have been concluded, the situation still depends on whether certain people are able to live together.

[Stoltenberg] Does the Geneva Peace Plan of the European Union have any importance after the agreement has been signed in Washington?

[Palata] The Washington agreement is a basis for fulfilling the action plan. When you look simultaneously at the plan and at the agreement concluded in the U.S. capital you will see that they are based on the same principle. Moreover, the European Union has participated actively in drafting the Muslim-Croatian treaty.

Deputy Defense Minister Views Security Issues

AU1503060694 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 11 Mar 94 p 12

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Boyko Noev by Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given: "Boyko Noev: The Time for Neutrality Has Passed"]

[Text] [Denov] Mr. Noev, is it true that you want to cut the army from 100,000 to 55,000 soldiers, as the leader of the Rakovski Legion claims?

[Noev] Many sins have been attributed to me recently. This has prompted me to overcome my reluctance to participate in public debates related to national security issues.

I categorically state that my lips never uttered and my pen never wrote the figure 50,000, or any other figure regarding the number of army personnel. This is not a part of my direct duties and I do not claim any qualifications in this sphere.

However, I have every reason to believe that the figure 50,000 has been proposed to the minister of defense by a highranking officer. He was entrusted with the task of calculating what army we could maintain within the 13 billion military budget.

[Denov] Do you mean Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff?

[Noev] No comment.

[Denov] You have been accused of insisting on more decisive cuts in the army. Did you initiate the idea on officers' compensation in the form of privatization bonds, described by the military as "pieces of paper?"

[Noev] I have nothing to do with any compensation or "pieces of paper."

[Denov] Does the army have any alternatives within the framework of this miserable budget?

[Noev] Generally speaking, there are two alternatives: The first is the immediate beginning of the reforms. There are possibilities for this and, in addition, the leadership of the Defense Ministry is willing to do this. The second alternative is to leave things as they are, as though we were still at the time of the broad frontal operations of the time of the blocs' confrontation. I do not think that anything has radically changed in our structures since then. I think that the same applies to certain people's way of thinking. It is my pessimistic forecast that a further delay of the reforms will inevitably lead by autumn to an accumulation of problems, exacerbating the crisis and shortages in the troops. I hope that my forecast proves wrong. In any event, I will not be a dumb witness to such tendencies.

My only hope is in those employees in the Defense Ministry system, the officers and civilians, who are champions of the new ideas, and who are capable of proposing new solutions and breaking the old norms. Those people are not afraid to assume responsibility.

[Denov] Could the army cope with an eventual external threat to Bulgaria's security within the framework of this budget?

[Noev] Today there is no consensus among the political forces or experts about the external threat's character and degree. One should not make a great drama out of it. It is no secret that there is no consensus among the various units of the Ministry of Defense, either.

The "threat" is a matter of assessment and no one should have a monopoly over determining it. This is the situation in all the civilized countries throughout the world. The assessment of the threat must be a product of cooperation between the relevant state institutions.

[Denov] In your view, what is the goal behind fanning the military threat against Bulgaria?

[Noev] Fanning the threat of a war in the Balkans could be in pursuit of many internal political group and individual goals. It is my opinion that despite the formally existing tension and military imbalances along a part of our borders, at present Bulgaria enjoys significant security. What contributes to this is first of all the unique and stable strategic circumstances, second, our real association with the European and Euro-Atlantic structures, and last but not least, the prudent and balanced policy conducted by our relevant institutions.

I know that not everyone will be happy if I again repeat my conviction about the absurd character of the apocalyptic script that includes aggression against Bulgaria. I also do not accept the abstract threat that "if our neighbor's house is burning, our house is next."

The last thing that Bulgaria needs today is maintaining insecurity and a psychosis of fear in our society. This of course does not mean that there should not be an army.

What kind of army—this is a worthy subject that should be discussed in a responsible manner by the Consultative Council on National Security at the Presidency.

[Denov] Is it not high time that this body began functioning?

[Noev] I think that this is the only body that can and must assume collective responsibility for solutions that have such a fundamentally social character. This is the only body which could prompt the beginning of the new stage of the military reform.

[Denov] Have you been punished for your statement that NATO should bomb Sarajevo? You said that limited air strikes do not jeopardize Bulgaria. However, later on the prime minister declared his opposition to air strikes.

[Noev] I will draw your attention to the consequences of NATO shooting down the four Serbian aircraft. Have you heard of anyone expressing concern for our security in this context, despite the fact that Greece declared a state of increased combat readiness in its armed forces?

This means that I was right. However, this was not only my position, but also the position of the president, the defense minister, and the other state institutions.

[Denov] Nevertheless, was there a dispute between you and General Brigo Asparukhov at the National Security Commission, when the possible consequences of eventual air strikes against Sarajevo were assessed?

[Noev] Yes, there was a dispute, but it revolved around principles.

[Denov] You are one of the great adherents to the Partnership for Peace initiative and joining NATO. What are your reasons?

[Noev] I was first of all motivated by the unanimous position of parliament, as well as the clear position of the government and the president on the same matter. Naturally, I am also led by the deep conviction that cooperation with the NATO states and with our former allies from the Warsaw Pact fully corresponds to our national interests. The more this cooperation strengthens, the more our security strengthens.

[Denov] Why is it necessary to cooperate with NATO? Certain politicians propose various variants of neutrality, such as the Finnish type?

[Noev] It is necessary to cooperate with NATO because there is no real alternative to NATO. This is the only military-political organization with proven potential and practical possibilities. In addition, only close cooperation with NATO and membership could provide us with those additional security guarantees, such as those that have already controlled the complex relations between our southern neighbors for decades.

I think that the time of neutrality passed with the disintegration of the bloc system. It is interesting that the champions of neutrality do not object to our membership of the European Union, which also means membership of the Western European Union. They also keep silent about the fact that this membership, which we unanimously desire in such a passionate manner, means that we relinquish to a large degree certain elements of our national sovereignty!

[Denov] How much will joining Partnership for Peace cost? Some people say that if we integrate into NATO we will have to change our weaponry completely, which means billions of dollars.

[Noev] First of all, this is a political issue, and it was already resolved a long time ago. In the long run we will profit from the partnership much more compared with the immediate consumer expenditure related to opening our mission at NATO headquarters in Belgium.

In this context, I would like to appeal to Bulgarian private capital, which could contribute very much to the direction of our integration. The annual expenditure of an optimal mission and a worthy representation of Bulgaria in NATO will not cost more than $250,000. If we receive this amount as aid from someone it will end the speculations that integration into NATO should be delayed because of the budget.

As far as rearming is concerned, it has already been said several times that integration does not presuppose total rearmament. It is NATO's position that standardization is not a problem that, in the final analysis, influences the political decision about membership. Thus the billions of dollars described by certain factors in Bulgaria as "unsurmountable" obstacles are mere scarecrows.

[Denov] After the so-called officer putsch the defense minister mentioned army cuts. How will these be effected?

[Noev] A special commission has been founded under the leadership of one of the deputy ministers of defense. This commission will optimize the structures and payroll and will reveal reserves from a more efficient utilization of the scant budget. I share the assessment that the payroll of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff is artificially inflated. There are many duplicating functions. Some warrant officers do inappropriate work. Many military employees are engaged in inefficient activities.

The results of this commission's work will be published in the second part of March; however, I would like to say that there will be no extensive or unprincipled cuts, or "throwing people onto the streets."

Furthermore, I have every reason to believe that the Ministry of Defense could set an example in taking care of its personnel, as has been the case in other countries. For me the ideal example is Great Britain. We are also studying the Russian experience.

Despite the lack of funds we could provide requalification programs. If we approach this subject seriously and responsibly, within six months we could be receiving 120 million leva from international financial institutions for the implementation of such programs. I think that the problem of compensation could also be fully resolved. I refer to the case when labor contracts are discontinued because of the closure of inefficient structures. Bulgarian officers, both on active service and in the reserve forces, must have a worthy place in Bulgarian society.

Ethnic Macedonian on Government 'Apartheid'

AU1403130994 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 Mar 94 p 2

[Report by Radmila Popova: "Ilinden United Macedonian Organization Demanded Political Autonomy for Pirin Macedonia"]

[Text] At a news conference held on 9 March, Yordan Ivanov, chairman of the unregistered Ilinden United Macedonian Organization [Ilinden OMO], declared that the claim that the Macedonians are Bulgarians is war propaganda. He accused the government of racial discrimination, genocide, and apartheid, adding that the

Bulgarian media had been trying to incite acts of violence against the Macedonian population in Pirin Macedonia [part of Bulgaria]. The program of the Ilinden OMO that has been announced demands a status of political, cultural, and economic autonomy for Pirin Macedonia. The program envisages the introduction of the Macedonian language into school curriculums and local administration, an independent Macedonian church, a ban on foreign propaganda regarding assimilation and economic independence, and the withdrawal of the Bulgarian occupation troops. According to Ivanov, the Ilinden OMO, on whose membership composition he declined to comment, is financed independently from membership dues, but that it was considering appealing to the government and the mass media for aid in the future. At the same time, it was stated that the Ilinden OMO, although not legally registered at the court, will sue the media for their insults and offenses against the organization.

BSP Leaders Meet Party Delegation From FRY

AU1403163894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] The entire authority of Bulgarian political forces must be committed to the problems of the Bulgarians living in the Western outlands, Zhan Videnov said after today's meeting of the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] with a delegation of the Democratic Union of the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia.

The information regarding the banning of the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia is unofficial, but if it is confirmed the BSP will react sharply, Zhan Videnov said.

BSDP, GOR Sign Cooperation Agreement

AU1403180494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] An agreement on political cooperation and allied relations between the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] and the Civic Alliance for the Republic [GOR] was signed on 14 March by the two party leaders, Dr. Petur Dertliev and Aleksandur Tomov.

Assuming the mutual commitment to act for the construction of a political alternative of the confrontation bipolar model, the two formations express confidence that their cooperation will contribute to the democratic development of society and improving political life in Bulgaria.

Tamara Radar Said Exported Illegally to U.S.

AU1403172194 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 11 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "Oman Purchased the Tamara Radar System, but the Americans Are Assessing It"]

[Text] Prague—The Tamara passive radar system, a Czech state-of-the-art air-defense product, was evidently exported illegally to the United States in 1991. This statement was made by an Army source, who, with reference to his position, does not wish to be named.

He said that, according to the customs and commercial documents, Tamara should have been exported to Oman. However, it was not transported to the Arab sultanate but was exported from the Czech Republic to the United States via a Polish port, said the source.

The U.S. Department of Defense was interested in Tamara. According to the experts, the Czech radar system can reveal even the "invisible" Stealth aircraft, whose development cost the Pentagon billions of dollars. The U.S. Department of Defense, therefore, decided to have a look at Tamara.

However, Czechoslovakia would obviously not have sold Tamara to the Americans because U.S. research would have diminished the customers' interest in this product.

Jaromir Novotny, director of the Defense Ministry's Foreign Relations Department, has confirmed that the Americans now own Tamara.

The Trade and Industry Ministry has confirmed that, in 1991, a license was granted to Tesla Pardubice, the manufacturer of Tamara, to export the radar system to Oman. It is apparent from the documentation available that the Omani Defense Ministry had pledged to be its end user.

Germany is the only Western country to have this state-of-the-art radar system in its arsenal; it acquired it after the dissolution of the GDR National People's Army. Communist Czechoslovakia had sold Tamara and its predecessor, Ramona, only to the Soviet Union and Syria.

Josef Opocensky, the director of the Tesla Pardubice state enterprise, does not know anything about Tamara being exported to the United States and insists that it was sold to Oman.

UNPROFOR Military Police Head Praises Army

AU1403194294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 94 p 2

[CTK report: "The World Appreciates the Czech Army, UNPROFOR Military Police Commander Says"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Army has higher prestige abroad than at home. This is what Colonel Miloslav Cech told us yesterday. Recently, he has been appointed new commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Military Police in former Yugoslavia. Colonel Cech will assume his post on 17 March in Zagreb. He will replace a French officer in this position and will stay in it for one year.

"The Czech Army has received high recognition since their officers have been appointed to the UNPROFOR command. Experts from European armies have had the opportunity during various meetings to learn about the qualities and capabilities of our professional soldiers, who were given priority over their colleagues from other countries." This is the way the new commander describes the fact that the number of Czech officers in high positions in the UNPROFOR peacekeeping forces have been increasing recently.

Jiri Novotny has become commander of the UNPROFOR Sector South Operational Staff, where the Czech soldiers are active. One of the Czech officers is likely to become the commander of the entire sector as of April, and another the commander of the Military Police in that part of the former Yugoslavia.

Apart from Colonel Cech, who will be in charge of soldiers from 20 countries, 22 additional Czech military police members will be active in the former Yugoslavia. The Czech UNPROFOR contingent should reach almost 1,000 troops this month.

Plant Makes NATO-Compatible Ammunition

AU1103154694 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Mar 94 p 12

[Article by "G. E.": "The Czech Army Does Not Shop in Vlasim"]

[Text] Vlasim—Yesterday, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys festively launched the production of the newly developed NATO 5.56 x 45-mm cartridges at the Vlasim enterprise Sellier & Bellot. This cartridge is standard issue in the NATO member countries, and we are the first former socialist country to produce something like that. The Vlasim enterprise used to supply ammunition to the Czechoslovak Army, but the shipments completely stopped after 1989.

To the question of where the Czech Army gets its ammunition now, if not in the Czech arms factories, Minister Baudys replied that our oversize Army has a large stockpile of ammunition and is gradually using it up. It is necessary also for the sake of expediency—many of the older cartridges will not fit future modern equipment. "If the Czech Army will have arms of this caliber, one that is used by NATO, it will certainly purchase its ammunition in Vlasim," the defense minister added.

Sellier & Bellot is a stockholding company privatized in the first wave of coupon privatization. The company has not made use of the originally considered stock reserved for a foreign partner and recommended that the shares

be placed in the second wave of coupon privatization. It has successfully made up for the decline in domestic demand by exports. "Today, we do not need foreign capital, although the munitions business is not as lucrative as people believe," said the chairman of the board of the stockholding company, Jiri Hanak.

Economy Minister Dyba Recalls Deputy Chrudina

AU1403185494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 11 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by "(jpk)": "Dyba Has Recalled His Deputy"]

[Text] Prague—Economy Minister K. Dyba yesterday relieved his deputy, L. Chrudina, from his post and from his obligation to perform his duties until the end of March. The minister thanked his deputy, who, among other things, had been entrusted with drafting a report on telecommunications policy, which has been a major liability to Dyba's ministry since January and has slowed down the system for privatizing Czech telecommunications. Chrudina's recall was formulated "by mutual agreement."

Interior Ministry Registers Democratic Union

AU1403132094 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "(jik)"t: "The Interior Ministry Has Registered a New Party"]

[Text] Prague—The Interior Ministry's administrative office on Tuesday [8 March] approved the second request for registration from the new right-wing Democratic Union [Demokraticka unie] party. The original request was rejected last week because the Union's Preparatory Committee had not submitted all of the formalities necessary for registration.

German Terrorists Sought in West Bohemia

AU1403182094 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Sabina Slonkova and Jan Cech: "Police in Western Bohemia Are Searching for Germans Suspected of Terrorism"]

[Text] Prague—Bavarian and West Bohemian police are searching for a group of seven Germans who are suspected of taking part in actions of the infamous terrorist organization, the Red Army Faction (RAF). Four women and three men have allegedly been hiding in West Bohemia for several weeks, where they arrived from Erfurt, Germany. This is what a high official from the secret service is saying. In connection with the undercover nature of the fight against terrorism, the officer wanted to remain anonymous.

The spokesman of the West Bohemian police, Jiri Soukup, confirmed yesterday that Czech police had received photos of terrorists from their German colleagues. There is a reward of 50,000 German marks, which as about 870,000 korunas, for arresting any of them or providing information leading to their arrest.

The investigation conducted by the police has brought no results thus far. Miroslav Master, deputy of the West Bohemian police director, said that no evidence has been found suggesting that the terrorists are hiding precisely in Western Bohemia. However, it cannot be ruled out that they are in another part of the country.

The fact that the police are searching for the terrorists in the Czech Republic is not at all exceptional. People from the antiterrorist and counterespionage departments of the police have believed for a long time that intentionally sought-after terrorists are hiding in our country. They are particularly members of Arab terrorist commandos, who are hiding in unregistered apartments of people from Arab or Czech-Arab firms and RAF activists. Josef Doucha, of the Central Criminal Police, said in an earlier interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES that the probability of bomb attacks or other terrorist actions was smaller in the Czech Republic than in Germany, for example.

Experts on terrorism are of the opinion that terrorists could have established their hinterland in the Czech Republic in earlier times. Until 1989, the former Czechoslovakia was a frequently sought haven by foreign terrorist organizations, who used to come here at the invitation of the then communist regime. One of the most famous was, for example, Illych Ramirez Sanchez, nicknamed "Carlos," the chief of the Hands of the World Revolution.

President Postpones Trip to Austria

LD1403190494 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] The press department of the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic has been authorized to announce that the planned official visit of President Michal Kovac to Austria has been postponed. Because of the resignation of the Slovak Government, the presence of Michal Kovac in Slovakia is essential. The visit of our head of state to Austria will take place at the next available date.

RFE Journalists Attacked by Demonstrators

LD1403203494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] We have a report that there are about 600 people in front of the Primate Palace [in Primate Square, Bratislava]] today.

My colleagues from Radio Free Europe and I estimate that there were over 1,000 people there at the time I left the Primate Palace, shortly before 1730. I shall read out an agency report, and then I will tell you my own experience:

The crowd of about 600 demonstrators in front of the presidential palace in the center of Bratislava, a TA SR report says, who are demanding the resignation of the head of state, today beat up two journalists from the U.S. radio station Radio Free Europe: Stefan Hrib was kicked to the ground and had his jacket and briefcase with all of his documents stolen.

A CTK reporter has said that the second person attacked was Milan Zitny, a member of the Czech section of Radio Free Europe in Slovakia. He went on to say that there was no policeman in the vicinity, and when Stefan Hrib found a police car, the police refused to take him to the police station. Milan Zitny was punched and kicked at the other end of Primate Square, where a demonstration was taking place. Milan Zitny said: The police tried to defend me, but the people were furious and they were in the majority. The aggressive demonstrators broke his camera. Then the police took him away in their car. According to Milan Zitny, he did not require treatment.

This is all from the TA SR report. I should like to add that, when Zitny was being insulted and screams were heard, Ljuba Lesna, my Radio Free Europe colleague, and I went to find out what was happening in Primate Square. During the meeting, the crowd, the aggressiveness of the people gathered there, for the most part older people of pensionable age, turned against us. Ljuba Lesna was physically attacked, and I got a slap in the face, but the policeman who was standing beside me, whom I asked for help, said: I am not here.

New Cabinet Ministers To Be Named 16 Mar

LD1403221194 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Representatives of the opposition parties that, in fact, represent the coalition already, together with Jozef Moravcik and Roman Kovac, returned from the talks with the president of the Republic shortly before 2200. He announced to the president the name of the candidate who is to form the new government. Our reporters have just returned from the parliament building. Hence, we can offer you the following interviews.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified official] The parties that formed the opposition so far, presented [the president] with the name of a new prime minister to be authorized to form the new Slovak government. This proposed prime minister, approved by the president as well, is Jozef Moravcik.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did the opposition parties propose candidates for ministerial posts as well?

[Official] This was not the topic of the talks. According to the information given by the hitherto opposition parties, the names for individual posts are more or less known [to the opposition parties]. However, this [list of names] will be fine-tuned. There is a chance that the names for individual ministerial posts will be announced by Wednesday [16 March]. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified official] The Party of the Democratic Left will propose seven names [for ministerial posts]. The Center Bloc, as I called it this afternoon—i.e., the Alliance of Democrats, the National Democratic Club, and another independent club, headed by Mr. Bajan—will also present seven names. The Christian Democratic Movement will present five names.

[Correspondent] How many deputy prime ministers will there be?

[Unidentified official] It is expected that there will be three deputy prime ministers. One deputy prime minister will be in charge of the economy. There will be another deputy prime minister for the so-called superstructure or ministries of the nonproductive sphere, and a deputy prime minister for legislative matters. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Editor Reproves Kovac's 'Confrontational' Line

AU1403194494 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Mar 94 p 3

[Commentary by Chief Editor Jan Smolec: "My Word About the Slovak President"]

[Text] When writing an article about the Slovak president, I have the advantage, compared with some other journalists, of having spoken and written about Slovak statehood and the post of Slovak president even during

the days of the rigid federation. At that time, today's fighters for democracy did not even mention Slovak statehood, let alone the Slovak presidency. Even my friend Jozef Sitko, currently chief of the president's press section, once called speculation about a Slovak state and the post of Slovak president extremely nationalistic.

I reminded Mr. Michal Kovac of this immediately after his election as president, at his meeting with nationally oriented journalists. To make matters clear right from the start, I supported Michal Kovac's candidacy for the presidency both as journalist and as deputy to the former CSFR Federal Assembly, particularly in view of his contribution, as chairman of the Federal Assembly, to the civilized and constitutional partition of the Czechoslovak state.

The sort of people with whom the president surrounded himself after his election came as a shock to me, however. Some people from his circle were active opponents of Slovak statehood. The president repeats in a stereotyped way that he wants to be everyone's president. Although this sounds nice, many of us are asking whether he also wants to be the president of those who had fought for an independent Slovakia.

All kinds of Czechoslovakist and anti-Slovak cadres have entrenched themselves at the Castle [seat of the Slovak president]. One of them is Alojz Rajnic, deputy to the former Federal Assembly for the Christian Democratic Movement. In the Office of the President, he was in charge of the Slovak state's security policy. What were his qualifications for this post? While a Federal Assembly deputy, he had voted against an independent Slovak state. A few days ago, I learned that he was leaving the Castle at long last. He is leaving to assume the post of chief of an outlying branch of the Presidential Office that is being set up in Kosice.

During our last meeting, I conveyed to the president these objections in person. I was extremely perturbed by the fact that a certain aversion to Prime Minister Meciar, verging on hatred, had taken possession of him. He told me briefly what he also said in the National Council of the Slovak Republic the day before yesterday. I conceded that Meciar was making mistakes, also with regard to diplomatic restraint. What cannot be ignored, however, is the credit he deserves for the founding of the state and the enormous endeavor he is devoting to the elimination of the transformation pangs and the building of Slovak statehood. In no way has he ever violated the Constitution, the law, or the principles of democracy, freedom, and pluralism. The Meciar phenomenon is stirring Slovakia; the young state needs both Michal Kovac and Vladimir Meciar, I wrote after that meeting. I hoped that they would make their peace with one another. After all, in the Czech Republic, too, there are disagreements between the president and the prime minister, but no one is making a fuss about it.

Unfortunately, the Slovak president has turned the misunderstandings between the Castle and the government into a confrontational drama. Like a telltale, he complained to the world that the prime minister did not come to welcome him at the airport.

The president has become too absorbed in himself. It is as though he did not want to take into consideration certain historical connections. For example, he accepts without any reservations the title of first Slovak president. "The president's Slovaks" (they bear the emblem of the president's banner) do not protest and do not emphasize that Michal Kovac is the second Slovak president. The first president was Dr. Jozef Tiso, irrespective of his evaluation by history. The Slovak nation can excuse all kinds of things, but the sight of Michal Kovac with headphones on, listening to a Hungarian-Slovak translation at the congress of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, was an insult to the stately post of Slovak president.

The people were looking forward to the Slovak president's speech [in parliament on 9 March]; they expected it to be conciliatory, calming, and supremely statesmanlike. What they heard, however, were tones of confrontation that open the doors to the Balkanization of our life.

Unfortunately, these are the traces that the second Slovak president is leaving behind him. He has somehow forgotten who supported him, nominated him, and elected him. Under the influence of his advisers, he has staked on a risky card. He has not even noticed that he is cheered mostly by those who did not want an independent Slovakia.

HZDS: 'Full Confidence' in Meciar as Chairman

LD1203195194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The analysis of the current political situation and preparations of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] for parliamentary and communal elections were the main points of today's meeting of the National Presidium of the HZDS in Spisska Nova Ves. More from Pavol Sveton:

[Begin recording] [Sveton] [passage omitted] We have learned from the press secretary, in the course of the HZDS National Presidium discussions, that Vladimir Meciar has offered his resignation from the position of chairman of the HZDS, this being based on yesterday's developments in the parliament. However, members of the presidium have expressed their full confidence in him. At the following press debate, Vladimir Meciar, among other things, said:

[Meciar] The movement has confirmed that it is entering into opposition and will not enter into any government coalition that is now being formed. The movement is dissatisfied with the president's activities, with the method he has of carrying out his duties, and with the way he has damaged the interests of the state and the good name of the Slovak Government. At the same time,

the movement expresses its concern about the internal situation, among the citizens and elsewhere in that the stage is becoming more fragmented rather than consolidated. Can you imagine the big fight that is about to start, for example, in connection with who will propose the prime minister? Peter Weiss [chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL)] thinks it will be him and forgot to notice that, behind his back, a coalition was formed of Milan Knazko [chairman of the Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic], Ludovit Cernak [former chairman of the Slovak National Party], and Jan Carnogursky [chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement], which has gotten more votes than Weiss. Problems are arising in the personnel situation.

In any case, the movement recommends and the government wants to apply this recommendation that, after my resignation on 14 March, the whole government will resign. We do not recommend that members of the government accept the president's request to continue exercising their duties. The president grossly offended members of this government by accusing them of corruption. This has spread throughout the world today. He cannot ask that these people who were so grossly accused and offended accept such appointments. He alone must bear the responsibility and consequences. [passage omitted].

Concerning negotiations with other political parties, the HZDS is of the opinion that the leadership of the SDL, particularly Weiss and Milan Ftacnik [deputy chairman of the SDL], is untrustworthy. It broke all agreements that were prepared for this action. It will take a very long time for the trust of our parties and movements to return for a resumption of mutual negotiations, and there is a big question mark over its ever becoming possible.

I will return to the parliament together with Olga Keltosova, minister of labor, social affairs, and the family, and Justice Minister Katarina Tothova. We shall use all of our capabilities to become a strong opposition party. [end recording]

Parliament Member Bajan Expelled From HZDS

AU1403203194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Mar 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Another Deputy Expelled"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Municipal District Presidium at Strecnianska Street in Bratislava 5 decided on 9 March to terminate the HZDS membership of Vladimir Bajan, deputy to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]. The Municipal District Presidium expressed full support for the prime minister and the government of the Slovak Republic and for the NRSR chairman.

SDL Chairman on Formation of Government

LD1403180794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by correspondent Ivan Samel; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Samel] Can we already talk about some partial results?

[Weiss] Of course, because these negotiations did not begin just last week. There will be another meeting of opposition representatives this afternoon, and a decision should be reached then about the most fundamental personnel questions.

[Samel] Some time ago, a demand was made that party chairmen should not be included in this government. Can you tell us if they are going to be in the government?

[Weiss] I am of the opinion that this demand should be respected. After all, we made it recently. [passage omitted]

[Samel] The present opposition parties are presenting the new government as a good alternative at this time. However, there are voices casting doubts on the efficiency of such government in view of the fact that there would be too many parties participating with too diverse an orientation. Judging by the atmosphere at the talks, can you say that this government would not be problem and conflict ridden?

[Weiss] This government is going to be interested in agreeing on basic policy priorities, on things that need to be solved first of all within a given time. Of course, it will be a government that is going to be aware of its responsibility to the Slovak Republic and its citizens. It will certainly not be an anti-Slovak government that some people are trying to suggest. It will simply be an alternative to that type of rule that we have just lived through. This government will invest in expertise, will resolutely press ahead with the transformation of the state economy, and will try to act competently. It will definitely tell people the truth about the state of the economy, even if it is bitter.

The citizen does not need to be lied to because he can become optimistic only if such optimism is warranted and based on a true picture of the state of the national economy and its potential. We do not want a government that just keeps things going, but one that will create genuine conditions for the continuation of the transformation process after the early elections, and for business-like solutions to a multitude of problems weighing down on people. Apart from economic and social problems, this government will make it its priority to deal with growing criminality.

[Samel] What economic measures can be expected from the new government?

[Weiss] The government wants to set off on a course of pursuing a realistic policy of macroeconomic transformation. As I have already said, the platform will be an analysis of the state of the economy, especially so that the government is able to send a clear signal to the public about the conditions under which it is taking over the economy, and what the reasons for this situation are.

The government will undoubtedly cooperate with the banking and capital market to find an immediate solution to corporate insolvencies, including bankruptcies, reviving the flow of money, and developing the capital market. Work on amending the law on the state budget will definitely begin so as to put its revenue and expenditure on a more realistic basis.

The government will strive to maintain external balance [as heard]. Through its economic policy, it wants to sustain the internal convertibility of the currency. Its political decisions will not interfere with currency stability. Above all, exchange rates will not be artificially sustained at the cost of increasing foreign indebtedness. Measures aimed at protecting the domestic market will be implemented in compliance with international agreements.

Another important aspect of the government's work will be to depoliticize privatization in accordance with the adopted amendment to the law on big privatization. Special emphasis will be placed on the equality of [privatization] methods, on the equal standing of those who enter into privatization process, on transparency, and on exercising parliamentary and public control over privatization.

The government will try to begin preparation of the second wave of coupon privatization, so that it might begin in the second half of 1994.

It is natural that the government that takes over responsibility will be exposed to a huge number of risks, and the time it will have at its disposal will not be sufficient. But transformation must be continued, and, at the same time, the most pressing difficulties hampering people's lives must be pragmatically resolved.

Wherever possible, the new government will try to compensate for the impact of certain economic measures on the population by introducing positive measures in other spheres—for example, in the social sphere or in reducing criminality.

[Samel] The law on reducing the [parliamentary] term of the office is due to be adopted in the near future. But for this you will need the votes of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. Have there been any parallel talks with these deputies' groups?

[Weiss] Yes, talks did take place. All of them want to call early elections. I hope that we will crack this problem on Wednesday [16 March, when the Slovak Parliament is due to resume its session]. It would a very good thing if the government had a clear mandate for its work.

[Samel] Have you had any indications that some deputies from the HZDS and the SNS will be willing to vote for the elections to be held at the end of September or the beginning of October?

[Weiss] There are, of course, some indications, but we should wait until this important hurdle is overcome.

Visas Required for FRY as of 17 May

AU1403105994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Mar 94 p 12

[Bozidar Andrejic Belgrade dispatch: "Yugoslavia Will Introduce Visas for Citizens of Slovakia"]

[Excerpt] The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] will introduce a visa requirement for citizens of the Slovak Republic with effect from 17 May 1994. As we learned from the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this is a reciprocal measure of the Yugoslav side, which comes in response to the recent cancellation by the Slovak Government of the bilateral treaty on the abolition of visas.

The decision by the government in Bratislava, made about 20 days ago, did not specify when the new visa regime would be introduced. However, it transpires from information we obtained at the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Yugoslavs who travel to Slovakia after 17 May will have to furnish their travel documents with a Slovak visa. The explanation granted to the PRAVDA correspondent at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade states that the Slovak Government's decision "is an expression of its assessment and needs, the causes and motives of which we do not wish to analyze. However, for objective reasons, this act of the Slovak side definitely does not contribute to the bilateral wish to further expand relations between the two countries' citizens." [passage omitted]

Paper Claims Russian Adviser Working With SIS

AU1103142994 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 3 Mar 94 p 5

[CTK report: "PRACA: Operation of KGB Agents in Slovakia Being Legalized Again"]

[Text] Bratislava—The operation of KGB members in Slovakia is being legalized again, which runs counter to the country's declared orientation, writes yesterday's issue of the daily PRACA in a commentary on the recent visit to Bratislava by Yevgeniy Primakov, chief of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service.

According to the paper, the Slovak Information Service (SIS) did not offer jobs to former members of the Federal Security and Information Service [FIS] who had undergone training in Western intelligence services but, quite

the contrary, has employed several former State Security Corps [communist-era secret service] members.

Because of the operation of a permanent Russian intelligence adviser with the SIS, the Slovak secret service disqualifies itself from close cooperation with the secret services of Western countries and reduces this cooperation to the mere exchange of essential information. The new Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, which is a direct successor to the First KGB Administration, is identical to its predecessor in terms of staff, the paper writes, adding that "SIS members will be dealing with essentially the same people as under Brezhnev." In this context, the daily draws attention to the fact that the seizure of power by the communists and the enforcement of Moscow's will in the former socialist countries after World War II had also been anticipated by agents and advisers of the former NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, predecessor of the KGB] occupying the ministries of interior and the secret services.

According to Yevgeniy Primakov, chief of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, and his Slovak interlocutors, cooperation between the two services will be geared mainly toward the struggle against terrorist and drug mafias. The daily points out, however, that the Law on the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service does not provide for such activity. "Rather, this is a matter for counterintelligence," PRACA adds.

Government Session Approves Measures, Projects

AU1403193494 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by S. Tomanek: "Three Research Institutes and Six Enterprises Have Been Privatized"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Following yesterday's 86th Session of the Slovak Government, there can be no doubt that privatization is picking up pace. The Cabinet yesterday discussed and approved nine privatization projects. A report on establishing a City University in Kralovsky Chlmec and a draft law on certain measures concerning state supervision of security work were withdrawn from the agenda. Material on the Foundation for the Development of the Regions in the Slovak Republic suffered the same fate. Moreover, three documents—a draft law that alters and supplements the law on income tax and two draft privatization projects—came onto the agenda.

Approved

The following documents were among those approved at yesterday's government session: a draft law on conducting business; a report on the fulfillment of the Slovak Government's policy in the struggle against crime, including its prevention; a report on the activity of the joint Slovak-Czech Border Commission; a proposal on the appointment of the members of the Slovak Forestry Commission Preparatory Committee; and an analysis of the current situation with regard to the upbringing and education of physically handicapped children and young people.

The government also approved other important materials yesterday, including an addendum to the proposal on providing guarantees from the state budget for credit from a foreign bank for the North Slovak Pulp and Paper Mills, a report on the disposal of radioactive waste, and a draft agreement between the Slovak Government and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark on succession to bilateral agreements. The government also approved a proposal to conclude an agreement between the Slovak Government and the Russian Federation Government on cooperation in culture, education, and science.

Into Private Hands

The government approved nine privatization projects yesterday: the Trnava Nuclear Power Plants Research Institute; DATA-STAV Presov; the Bratislava Research Institute for Engineering Projects; Stavex Humenne; CHEMVAP Kosice, an enterprise providing services for cement plants and lime works; the Bratislava Institute for the Economy and Organization of the Construction Industry; the Lucenec Civil Engineering Works; the Humenne Meat Industry plant; and Vinc Kosice. [passage omitted]

The Popularity Stakes

Slovak Statistical Office Chairman R. Krc gave a report on the trends in support for politicians and parties. At the beginning of February, respondents placed most trust in Prime Minister Meciar. President M. Kovac came next. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia was the most popular party. On the other hand, the Democratic Party-Conservative Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia were among the parties whose support declined to below 2.0 percent. Surprisingly, the number of citizens who reject the screening law has declined.

NBS Suspends Refinancing Credits for Banks

AU1403203294 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Mar 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Bankers' Meeting"]

[Text] Bratislava—Vladimir Masar, governor of the Slovak National Bank [NBS], yesterday informed the highest representatives of all commercial banks about topical issues of monetary development and the NBS's monetary policy. The meeting was attended by other members of the NBS Banking Council. The discussion concerned, above all, the temporary suspension by the NBS of refinancing credits for commercial banks. This measure is a consequence of the growth of liquidity at the beginning of this year, caused by the increase of the state budget deficit toward the end of 1993. The representatives of commercial banks noted that, even though

they were not responsible for the growth of liquidity, this NBS measure has an unfavorable impact on their credit policy toward clients.

Statistical Office Economic Data for 1993

AU1403091894 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 1 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by "st": "We Produce Less but Bankers and Insurance Agents Are Satisfied; The Slovak Economy in Light of Statistics"]

[Text] Bratislava—According to Slovak Statistical Office data, gross domestic product dropped 4.1 percent last year, compared with 1992. In current prices, it reached a value of 336.7 billion korunas [Sk], which was 11.6 percent more than the year before. Completed investments reached a value of almost Sk102 billion, which represents a 10-percent increase in nominal terms but a 6 percent drop when price growth is taken into consideration.

Slovakia exported Sk167.2 billion worth of goods last year, with the largest volume of exports going to the Czech Republic [CR]. Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia follow at some distance. At the same time, exports to the CR dropped more than 11 percent [compared with 1992]. The greatest volumes of goods to Slovakia were imported from the CR, Russia, Germany, and Austria. The surplus of imports over exports is reflected in a balance-of-trade deficit of Sk26.7 billion. A surplus of Sk1.3 billion was achieved in the trade balance with the CR.

An average of 1,924,900 people were working in the national economy last year, 3.2 percent less than the year before. The level of employment declined throughout the year, with the exception of the second quarter. The level of employment in enterprises in private ownership, including cooperatives, increased 0.9 percent. The steepest decline in employment was recorded in the sphere of material production. It was offset by higher employment in banking and services.

The average nominal monthly wages per employee in the national economy reached Sk5,372 last year, which represents an increase of 18.5 percent. Real wages declined 3.5 percent, however, compared with 1992. The most rapid increase in average monthly wages, by 30.4 percent, was in small enterprises with up to 24 employees, where they reached Sk6,675. Average earnings in enterprises with 25 or more employees increased more than 20 percent, to Sk5,364. The highest level of average monthly salaries, Sk10,386, was reached in banking and the insurance business. This represents an increase of 36.6 percent. Monthly earnings in the production and distribution of electricity, gas, and water averaged Sk7,767 (an increase of 30.9 percent), and in the extraction of raw materials Sk6,482 (an increase of 21.8 percent). Average monthly salaries in budget-funded and subsidized organizations of a nonentrepreneurial nature increased 10.3 percent, to Sk5,035. The wages of employees in privately owned businesses are estimated to have increased by 18.2 percent, to Sk5,850.

The greatest profit was made last year in the production and distribution of electricity, gas, and water. The greatest losses were suffered in agriculture, gamekeeping, forestry, retailing, and in repairs of motor vehicles and consumer goods. Of 4,148 enterprises, 1,763 ended the year with a profit. The aggregate profit of these firms amounted to Sk68.4 billion, while loss-making enterprises generated an aggregate loss of Sk42.6 billion. The liabilities of Slovak enterprises increased by Sk36.5 billion last year, to Sk373.2 billion.

Small enterprises [with under 25 employees] accounted for only 8 percent of total industrial output and for 9.8 percent of building industry output. Small enterprises, including private businessmen, asserted themselves most markedly in retailing, where they accounted for 68.8 percent of total turnover. Small enterprises developed dynamically, in particular, in freight road transport. Compared with 1992, their performance went up 168.3 percent, while in industry it went up 74.2 percent, in the building industry 55.4 percent, and in retailing 50.7 percent.

The Slovak Republic had a population of 5,330,000 at the end of last year, 51.2 percent of which were women. The annual population growth reached 0.4 percent. Some 8,900 persons migrated to Slovakia, while 7,200 persons emigrated. A total of 379,170 job seekers were registered with labor offices at the end of January 1994.

Industrial Production Down 1.2 Percent in Jan

LD1403181894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Summary] Rudolf Krc, chairman of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, briefed the media today about the development of the Slovak economy in January 1994. For example, the consumption of the population, assessed on the basis of retail trade takings, was just below 16 billion korunas. Compared to December 1993, this is a drop of 21 percent. Krc said that, compared to December 1993, industrial production dropped by 1.2 percent in January.

Crime Figures for First 2 Months of Year

AU1503061094 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by "(mad)": "Burglars Are in First Place"]

[Text] Bratislava—Thirteen murders, 10 of which have been resolved—that is, a 77-percent success rate—200 robberies, of which the police have clarified almost 39 percent, and 20 rapes, 15 of which have been cleared up, are a sample of the crime figures for Slovakia since the beginning of this year. This information was made

available yesterday by Jaroslav Ivor, director of the Slovak Police Force Office of Investigations, and his colleagues.

It is apparent from the overall crime rate that theft by burglary is the crime committed most in Slovakia. The 7,778 incidents during the first two months of this year, just under 19 percent of which have been cleared up by the police, testify to the growing audacity of the burglars and to the impotence of the police, who, despite considerable effort, are unable at the moment to confront this menace. The overall damage inflicted has increased by more than 30 percent, compared with the first two months of last year, and it can definitely be said that the victims themselves are partly to blame for the burglars' success, because, from the point of view of the police investigator, they obviously sometimes invite the criminal directly into their homes.

Embezzlers of the State

So-called economic crime, or criminal activity against state property, holds a steady place in the shocking statistics on the crime rate. To date, the "mere" 13 instances of crime committed against privatization could testify to a relative lack of interest by pseudobusinessmen in this sphere. The opposite is true, however. The almost 25 million korunas [Sk] worth of damage resulting from crime against state property and the 43 cases of tax evasion, which amounts to almost Sk283 million, again reveal major flaws in legislation, which is a problem for National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies. Fraudulent purchases of goods on a noncash basis have inflicted damage on our economy of more than Sk20 million, and we could continue in this vein ad infinitum because the embezzlers' resourcefulness is limitless. The overall damage from property and economic crime during the first two months of this year alone amounts to more than Sk300 million!

Money Forgers

Those who forge money and bonds are also among the criminals with good prospects. Some 531 instances of forged domestic and foreign currencies, 162 instances of franked Slovak bank notes (including five cases where the new Slovak currency has been forged), and forged U.S. dollars, British pounds, Austrian schillings, and other currencies bear witness to the lucrative development of the crime rate under our conditions. The fact that children are among the delinquents is particularly cautionary. The more than 4,600 instances of crime committed by children reveal that the most basic element of society, the family, is also breaking down!

It is interesting to note that criminal activity by Romanies has shown a relative decline. This, however, really only is in relative terms because Romanies are involved in almost 22 percent of crimes committed. Repeat offenders have also shown a relative decline in the Slovak Republic; "only" 13,907 have been prosecuted, which is the same as in the past three years.

Something Slovakia Still Does Not Need

We cite, as a gem, a report issued by the Czech Press Agency, according to which special units have even been established there to deal with extremist groups, skinheads, neofascists, and so on. This is something that so far we do not need in Slovakia....

Official Explains Rights of Ethnic Minorities

AU1503104394 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Mar 94 p 7

[Interview with Janos Wolfart, chairman of the National and Ethnic Minorities Office, by Istvan Javorniczky; place and date not given: "Minority Rights Do Not Depend on the Number of Ethnic Minorities"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Javorniczky] Is there any conflict today in the presence of national minorities here?

[Wolfart] No national minority group represents a danger to the state's territorial integrity and sovereignty. No serious politician in Hungary would claim this. On the contrary: our national minorities are suitable for playing a role of mediator in our relations with other countries. Our treatment of national minorities is also an internal training for our international relations, even if these national minorities are small in number. Including the Gypsies, their number is estimated at 1 million. However, only a quarter of this figure is confirmed by the census. There are traditionally-acknowledged national minorities, like Germans, Slovaks, Croatians, Romanians, Serbs, and Slovenes. Gypsies make up the largest minority group, and they are both the most heterogeneous and most divided group. There are also groups that have almost been forgotten, sometimes even by themselves, like Poles, Greeks, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Armenians, Bulgarians. The law on national minorities lists 13 groups with special rights. They are Hungarian citizens and have been living in Hungary for more than 100 years as a group; they differ from the majority nation through their own culture and language. [passage omitted]

[Javorniczky] We know who the law regards as minorities. However, who regard themselves as minorities? To what extent do the people in question want to fall under a "dual evaluation?"

[Wolfart] This is changing. An increasing number of people are asking questions about what they are, where they come from, and where they are heading. This does not mean that a lot more people regard themselves as minorities on paper too. Besides, I think that it takes a longer time for someone to feel that he belongs somewhere and to also acknowledge this, and regulations and a proper atmosphere can reduce this time, but this should nevertheless be left to the individual to decide. Those who acknowledge that they belong to a certain ethnic group today are doing this more deliberately today than 30-50 years ago or in the last century. Belonging to an ethnic group and coexistence with the Hungarian nation does not lead to tension in Hungary; one does not have to deny one's own culture or one's Hungarian friend. It also derives from the fact that there is a very close coexistence and there are not homogeneous communities isolated geographically. The number of mixed marriages has also increased in recent years. [passage omitted] The national minorities living in Hungary do not feel threatened; nor do they represent any threat to the Hungarians. The current situation can be called basically friendly, and we hope this will continue. It is another matter that the national minorities will strive to represent their interests more firmly than hitherto and to increase the importance of their institutions. We should not be surprised and doubtful if they also formulate demands and problems, in addition to positive things. We should forget the idea that the national minority issue can be solved. Today we legislate a good law and make a few good decisions tomorrow, and everything is solved. Regulations are meant to enable the national minorities to make use of their rights and express what they find improper and press for the things they want. Obviously, the state and the political echelons will have tasks to fulfill. We must treat the national minorities as partners, because we cannot prosper otherwise. [passage omitted]

[Javorniczky] What are the major national minority rights?

[Wolfart] The basic national minority rights are also included in the Constitution. The state-founding role, the right to create self-governing bodies, the right to be represented, and the banning of discrimination are such basic rights. The law on national minorities stipulates that the national minorities have important rights as communities. The right to create their own organizations, the right to learn and use their mother tongue, and the right to have systematic contacts with their mother country are such rights. It is also the obligation of the state to guarantee and partially finance all this. [passage omitted]

Free Democrats Assess Talks in Romania

AU1503081394 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Mar 94 p 3

["N.O."-signed report: "Kuncze: The Issue of the Imprisoned Hungarians Has To Be Resolved—Agreement Between the SZDSZ and the RMDSZ"]

[Text] It can be a test of the Romanian side's credibility if they indeed find a solution to the issue of the ethnic Hungarian Romanian citizens who were imprisoned in the wake of the 1989 events. This was stated by Gabor Kuncze, faction leader and prime minister candidate of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], at a news conference on 10 March where he reported on the three-member party delegation's visit to Romania which had ended on 9 March.

At the talks with the SZDSZ's delegation, general secretary of the Bucharest government Viorel Hrebenciuc, who is considered to be President Iliescu's most influential adviser, held out the possibility of reassessing the clemency applications of the condemned people. A promise was also made about opening two more border crossing points in 1994, and Senate chairman Oliviu Gherman admitted that it was advisable to expedite the

ratification of the already signed bilateral agreements on investment protection and the avoidance of dual taxation. The SZDSZ delegation explained to its hosts that a general improvement in bilateral relations could be achieved together with settling the national minority issue. In reply to MAGYAR HIRLAP's question, Kuncze said that according to the original program, they should have met Prime Minister Vacaroiu but the Romanian side canceled the meeting due to the government reshuffle in Bucharest. During the talks with the leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] and the mayors of Harghita and Covasna counties, the Free Democrats said that, if their party becomes a governmental factor, they would continue to keep the issue of the Hungarians in Romania on the agenda in an institutionalized form and in terms of standards, but they would certainly not wish to influence the RMDSZ's political line. Kuncze also said that the mayor of Marcelhaza [Marcelova] had to cancel Kuncze's planned visit on 15 March because of the conflicts between the Hungarian organizations in Slovakia.

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, parliamentary deputy of the SZDSZ who was also part of the delegation, said to MAGYAR HIRLAP that all the RMDSZ leaders agree with the concept according to which the Free Democrats handle the system of relations with Romania. He added that the classical legal theory of liberalism was indeed solely based on individual rights. However, the modern liberal view has reached the point of recognizing that certain rights can only be guaranteed if they are linked to some community. Therefore, in the SZDSZ, the view now prevails that, in the issue of the minorities over the border, progress has to be made toward making collective rights recognized. Szent-Ivanyi admitted that his Bucharest negotiating partners touched upon the unresolved situation of the parliamentary representation of national minorities in Hungary. However, the SZDSZ delegation explained that further talks are being held in Hungary on this issue and, on the other hand, the legal provisions that have been enacted in Hungary—mainly the law on national minorities—are still to be achieved by the parliaments of the neighboring countries.

Army Chief of Staff Promoted

LD1203163694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Hungarian President Arpad Goncz has promoted Lieutenant-General Janos Deak, Hungarian Army commander and chief of staff, to the rank of colonel-general. On the occasion of the 15 March holiday, Arpad Goncz promoted 11 colonels, four of them to major general and seven of them to brigadier general.

This was the first occasion that somebody was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, a rank established in the Defense Law passed in January. Defense Minister Lajos Fur and Interior Minister Imre Konya were also present at the ceremony.

Russia's Zhirinovskiy Ends Visit, Comments

LD1403144494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] At the end of his visit to Poland, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, said that economic arguments favor the formation of a great Slav community, in which Poland would also take part.

[Reporter Andrzej Kruszynski] I have visited all of the Slav countries from Poland to Bulgaria, the Russian politician said, and everywhere I saw stagnation, factories not working. Now, when the ideological system has collapsed, we can transfer the resources that until now have been earmarked for armaments to meet the economic needs. It is easier for us Slavs to reach an understanding because our languages are so close. At the same time, we will spend less on transportation in trade between us than in trade with the West.

Economic issues, including the strengthening of links between the banking structures of Poland and Russia, were discussed during meetings of the Russian politician with business representatives and, as he described it, with politicians of the new Poland. According to Zhirinovskiy, they are politicians from outside the present political setup. However, he declined to name them.

Holds News Conference

LD1403152294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1415 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Mar—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, speaking at a news conference in Warsaw today, said that he met "very important people in Poland but that he could not name them." However, Janusz Bryczkowski, at whose invitation Zhirinovskiy came to Poland, said that these people are politicians and businessmen of the new, rising generation and not of the current political setup.

During the news conference, Zhirinovskiy devoted much attention to "Pan-Slavonic economic solidarity, in which Poland and Russia can play an important role." In his opinion, bank guarantees are needed for trade between the two countries. "We can give preferential treatment to Polish construction companies, including the construction of highways, among other things," he said. He announced that talks with Moscow banks would be held to discuss this matter. He did not exclude the possibility of his own company participating in this undertaking.

Asked for comment on Prime Minister Pawlak's visit to Moscow, Zhirinovskiy said that politics runs along two separate tracks. "If what is worked out by Poland and Russia turns out to be good, we will accept it. We are not going to reject good solutions," he said.

Departs for Moscow

LD1403162694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1541 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Mar—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], left Warsaw for Moscow on Monday afternoon.

Zhirinovskiy and his entourage were seen off at Warsaw Okecie airport by Janusz Bryczkowski, leader of the Polish National Front, at whose invitation the LDPR leader was staying in Poland.

Zhirinovskiy's departure, in contrast to his arrival on Friday evening, took place without incident because there were no other people present in the airport departure hall apart from security service men, both plainclothes and uniformed, and journalists.

CE Head Meets Sejm, Senate Speakers

LD1503113794 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Text] Catherine Lalumiere, Council of Europe secretary general, who is on an official visit to Poland, has had a meeting with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy and Senate Speaker Adam Struzik. Both speakers agreed with Madame Lalumiere that the Council of Europe should be extended to the countries of the former Soviet Union. According to Oleksy, Poland's experiences could help Polish neighbors to achieve closer contacts with the Council of Europe.

Received by Walesa

LD1503124094 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1100 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Excerpts] On the second day of her visit to Poland, Madame Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, was received by President Lech Walesa. Earlier she had a meeting with the chairmen of the Sejm and Senate.

The need to broaden Poland's cooperation with the Council of Europe was discussed in the course of the conversation at the Belweder. Our country can also mediate in contacts between Russia, Ukraine, and this organization. [passage omitted]

According to Madame Lalumiere, human rights are not being violated in Poland. In the near future, Poland is to ratify a Council of Europe convention banning torture and inhuman treatment.

Pawlak Leaves for Moscow To Discuss Economy

WS1503115694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Mar 94 p 21

[Article by Slawomir Popowski from Moscow: "Prime Minister Pawlak's Proposals; 'Partnership for Development' With Russia"]

[Text] During Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's visit to Moscow, four agreements are supposed to be signed: on the principles of employing Poles in Russia and Russians in Poland, on the quarantine of plants, on early warning about nuclear accidents, and on cooperation in the area of nuclear security, as well as on cooperation in the antimonopoly policy.

The Polish party also insisted on signing a commercial protocol for this year; however, it seems that these were all futile efforts. Moscow does not want to agree to the settlement mechanism proposed by Pawlak, which links Poland's purchases of strategic raw materials to the imports of our goods.

In this situation, Warsaw's initiative is especially noteworthy: It insists on specifying a catalogue of the issues that have not been settled yet and of problems that impede the development of economic cooperation. Similar protocols of dissimilarities have already been drawn up more than once. This time, however, the approximate date of their settlement should be fixed, and people responsible for that should be selected. Some people believe that this is the main goal of Prime Minister Pawlak's journey to Moscow. As one of the high-ranking Polish diplomats put it, if this is pulled off, we will be able to consider the entire visit a success.

It is worth adding that Polish-Russian economic relations are now in a deep crisis, which to a considerable degree is also related to the noticeable chilling of the political climate. For a year and a half, if we do not take into account the talks between both presidents, both states practically have not maintained any contacts. Most of the problems that impede cooperation and an exchange of goods and services have not even been touched. As a consequence, the Polish-Russian trade turnover again started to plummet more quickly. After a period of relative stabilization in 1992 (at the level of 50 percent of the turnover in 1990), the turnover in 1993 decreased by another 39 percent. The decrease in exports of agricultural-industrial goods to the Russian market (by 62.5 percent) is especially seen as very alarming.

The main reason for this state of affairs is said to be the crisis of the Russian economy as well as drastic anti-import measures taken by Moscow. This is true. On the other hand, however, quite important is also the lack of any concrete decisions concerning indebtedness (as a result of which many Polish companies are simply afraid of conducting trade with Russia), let alone the fact that there are no instruments in place for supporting exports. There is even no bank that would handle trade with the East.

By leaving for Moscow with his own concept of a "partnership for development," Prime Minister Pawlak would like to unblock the Polish-Russian economic relations and deal with, as he put it, "the building of practical foundations of cooperation." According to the Polish prime minister, all of the great ideas have already been announced, and now it is high time for practical activities aimed at implementing them. The prime minister believes that it is possible to separate the economy from politics.

* * *

"Right now the problem is not that we should sign further agreements because we have already signed many agreements, treaties, and declarations with Russia: We should see to it that our mutual relations are transferred to the level of activities, especially economic activities," Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said yesterday before leaving for Moscow. The prime minister confirmed that, in Russia, he will discuss the "zero option"—that is, the proposal that the debts of both sides be annulled.

"During the meeting in Moscow, the problem of gas and oil supplies from Russia will also be discussed," Industry and Trade Minister Marek Pol said in the Polish Radio Third Program.

—by J.H.

Finance Minister Candidate Rosati Meets Pawlak

WS1403153994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "Independence but No Arbitrariness; If Prime Minister and President Approve Candidate Dariusz Rosati, He Could Begin Work 1 April"]

[Text] *"The conversation with the prime minister concerned economic policies or, to put it in more precise terms, it was about a strategy for economic development and terms for cooperation." This is what Dariusz Rosati told us on Saturday [12 March] after his two-hour meeting with Waldemar Pawlak. Rosati is the Democratic Left Alliance's candidate for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister.*

Professor Rosati presented the prime minister with "Principles of Social and Economic Policies," which he has written. According to him, it is a precondition for the reforms to succeed, that inflation-free economic growth take place, but that will only happen if no radical changes are made to current economic policies. Positive trends must be strengthened, and possibilities for increasing investments and exports must be created. That should be implementedj, among others, by widening the availability of financial means, but without increasing inflation. Principles of action in the economy should also be stabilized, and privatization should be accelerated because it is a condition for increasing economic efficiency.

"Economic growth must be stimulated because the rise in inflation has been halted, and it is only by achieving permanent growth that one can lead to a decrease in unemployment and to increasing standards of living. Everything in the economy must be subordinated to measures aimed at increasing economic growth," Rosati

said. "The increase in economic indicators observed in 1993 is very unstable because it was not based on investment or exports but only on an increase in individual consumption."

"We both agreed," Rosati said, "that right now a revival of the economy at the microeconomic level should be a priority because, when it comes to the macro level, the most important decisions have already been implemented."

"We also discussed organizational issues," Rosati said. "I would like to enjoy substantial autonomy when it comes to being in charge of the economy, and the prime minister did not object to that, but he did stress that it must be about independence, not arbitrariness. I want to increase the role of the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee, to have it make all economic decisions. One of my conditions is also better access to the prime minister, both with regard to conveying information to him and decisionmaking. Important issues must not be postponed. I must also enjoy autonomy when it comes to staff issues, and I must also have sufficient time in which to prepare my initiatives."

The candidate for the post of deputy prime minister also stressed that, during his conversation with the prime minister, he returned to the issue of Marek Borowski's resignation; he said he fully shares the prime minister's view and his decision regarding the resignation because there must be loyalty and trust and rapport between managers and their subordinates.

"The prime minister informed me that he will present my report to his advisers and members of the government and will let me know his decision within a week. If the answer is positive, I could take up the post effective 1 April, and that includes the time required for the president to sign the nomination and for me to wrap up my dealings in Geneva, although I am not sure whether that is a very good date on which to begin a job as serious as this one.

"My feeling is that the prime minister took note of my conditions and did not object to them. Waldemar Pawlak did not set terms of his own, but he did stress agriculture and some industrial branches—namely, mining, the defense sector, and the food industry," Rosati said.

He also said he had not discussed with the prime minister what the president's opinion on his candidacy might be, and that he informed the prime minister that, as regards the case of the Foreign Debt Service Fund [FOZZ], he has no reason to feel guilty and will gladly submit to an interrogation. He is just surprised that he should be interrogated now—that is, two and a half years after the investigation began.

Other members of the FOZZ Board of Directors, with regard to whom no charges had been formulated, just as with Dariusz Rosati, were questioned as witnesses a year ago, or even earlier than that.

"There are no differences between the prime minister and myself that would make cooperation impossible." This is how Dariusz Rosati summed up Saturday's conversation with Pawlak.

Defense Minister's Paris Visit Called 'Success'

PM1503085794 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 5-6 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "ROD": "The French Connection: Minister Kolodziejczyk Is Back From Paris"]

[Text] "The West has for a long time avoided a debate on Poland's future, but I am convinced that this time we have witnessed a breakthrough," National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk said immediately after his return from Paris.

According to the National Defense Ministry [MON] chief, the costs of integration with the Western security system should be met using funds from the Office of the Council of Ministers' [URM] budget reserves. Kolodziejczyk will accept a vice minister designated by the government coalition on the condition that "the person has received substantive briefing."

In Kolodziejczyk's opinion, his meeting in Paris with French National Defense Minister Francois Leotard and German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe ended on a note of success for the Polish side.

"Let the French minister's statement speak for itself here: 'If the West fails to make any move toward Poland and the other countries we should thank for the collapse of the Berlin Wall, Poles will gain the right to call us cowards! We must no longer keep turning toward the Kremlin and speculating what it might mean that the current ruler there has knitted his brow," the MON chief quoted his French opposite number during a press conference convened in Gdynia.

Before the end of this year, joint military maneuvers will be carried out by Polish and Western army units. However, the aim is to create so-called small tactical forces, which will allow our armed forces to keep the costs to a minimum. Kolodziejczyk maintains that this will allow a reduction of the estimated expenditure on operations aimed at military integration with the Western European Union to 250 billion zlotys [Z].

"I will not be looking for that money within the ministry; it should come from URM budget reserves. We will be able to find funds for the current year, but I am afraid that, in the future, we may face an embarrassing situation: We may be forced to admit that we do indeed want integration very much but that we cannot quite afford it."

Kolodziejczyk announced that "for legislative reasons, it is necessary to appoint a parliamentary under secretary of state to MON.

"I know that the Democratic Left Alliance has set its heart on its own candidate, and I am even quite ready to accept him as vice minister, provided he will have received substantive briefing, enabling him to cooperate with me."

Constitution Committee Completes Work

WS1403153894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12-13 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Pilczynski: "Another Citizens' Initiative"]

[Text] An Extraordinary Committee working on bills of amendments to the procedures for preparing and passing the Constitution has completed its work. At one of its coming sessions, the committee, chaired by Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Deputy Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, will present the Sejm with three proposed amendments.

The first one concerns the holding of a preconstitutional referendum, proposed in a bill submitted by the Union of Labor [UP]. As was agreed upon during a previous meeting of the committee, it would be of an optional character; that is, the Sejm might, but would not have to, hold such a referendum.

On Friday [11 March], the committee also agreed to give up the idea of the so-called zero option—that is, the proposal that the seven draft constitutions submitted in the previous Sejm be declared invalid. This means that the drafts will be taken into account.

The committee also accepted the idea, submitted on behalf of the coalition by SLD Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia, that the right to submit a constitutional draft also be granted to a group of 500,000 citizens, if this support is backed up by their signatures. The period for the submission of these bills would be three months from the day the law comes into force. In the cases of well-founded doubts concerning the authenticity of the signatures, the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly could request that the State Electoral Committee verify them on the basis of appropriate regulations of the Sejm Election Law.

A counterproposal was put forward by Krzysztof Kaminski (Confederation for an Independent Poland—KPN). He suggested that the right to submit a draft constitution be granted to a group of 100,000 citizens.

The issue of the citizens' constitutional initiative stirred up the most controversy during the Friday session. UP Deputy Janusz Szymanski and KPN Deputy Krzysztof Kaminski expressed their doubts about whether the committee can debate this motion because it is clearly an extension of the matter included in the amendment bills (prepared by the KPN and UP) the Sejm forwarded to the Constitutional Committee. It was claimed that this motion should be the subject of a separate legislative initiative; it was at the same time recalled that the Sejm recently rejected similar proposals submitted by the president. However, in the ballot that followed, the committee did not share these objections.

During the discussion, the bill was also criticized for something else: It was claimed that drafting a constitution in three months' time and collecting 500,000 signatures is next to impossible.

Deputy Jaskiernia polemized with this view; he claimed that, in practice, this period will be longer and that many groupings have already prepared or almost prepared their drafts. Setting a more remote deadline would excessively prolong work on the Constitution, which has lasted too long already, and would be dangerous. The explanation of the figure of 500,000 was the following: The right to submit a Constitution draft is exercised by, among others, 56 members of the National Assembly, who represent 1.2 million voters. Granting the right to the initiative to 100,000 citizens would mean unjustified privileges for the electorate of extraparliamentary groups.

According to Deputy Jaskiernia, the coalition has launched this initiative because, especially in a situation when the right wing refuses to cooperate in the creation of a Constitution, it wants to avoid the accusation that "the parliament members that are dealing with this fail to notice the citizens." Serving this purpose is the invitation of the representatives of the extraparliamentary parties to the work in the Constitutional Committee, abandoning the zero option, the possibility of holding a preconstitutional referendum, the constitutional citizens' initiative, and a confirming referendum.

Solidarity Strikes Continue

WS1503155994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by B.I.W.: "Manifestation Monday of Solidarity; Until the Talks"]

[Text] On the eighth day of its protest, Solidarity ["S"] organized three demonstrations in front of voivodship offices in Opole, Wroclaw, and Walbrzych. A few hundred people took part in each of them. Twelve miners in Andaluzja in Piekary Slaskie started an underground occupational strike; however, the strike has nothing to do with the nationwide "S" action. Today, among others, a few dozen plants of the Bydgoszcz Region will go on strike. In the morning, "S" Head Marian Krzaklewski will meet with Senate Speaker Adam Struzik of the Polish Peasant Party [SLD]. They will discuss, among other topics, the budget and possible changes that the Senate may introduce. Struzik told RZECZPOSPOLITA that he will try to "reconcile positions." He may play the role of a mediator in the talks between "S" and the government.

The Prime Minister Invites Unclearly

According to "S" National Committee [KK] Spokesman Piotr Zak, the prime minister's invitation to talks has

been worded so unclearly that it is not known whether this is an invitation to the negotiations on the trade union's demands. They wanted to advance the date of the meeting between Waldemar Pawlak and Marian Krzaklewski by one day because, as Zak put it, "let us not waste time." After consultations at the Office of the Council of Ministers, it turned out, however, that the prime minister had reserved Thursday [17 March] for other activities. It seems that "S" did not like the fact that the prime minister had invited not only this trade union but also "Solidarity '80," All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement, and Trade Union of Miners in Poland [ZZGwP] (the heads of the two latter unions are deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance). Because only "S" is right now involved in the dispute and is conducting the protest action, it would indicate that the prime minister wants to discuss not only their demands or even that he does not want to negotiate.

At 1100 today, a meeting will be held between Chairman Krzaklewski and Speaker Struzik (PSL senator, member of "S"), who himself invited him to talk. Some "S" activists say that the union would already like to stop or at least to soften the protest action and finally begin talks. This is also suggested by the fact that "S" very seriously treated Leszek Miller's invitation to talks as well as by the fast response of "S." Such a possibility may arise after the meeting with the Senate speaker. Struzik told RZECZPOSPOLITA that he and Krzaklewski intend, among other things, to evaluate the current situation and to discuss the socioeconomic situation in the country, and so "a talk about the budget will probably be unavoidable." Much earlier, before the budget discussion and the voting, Struzik forwarded a letter to the KK, in which he wrote about possible changes in the budget. They were supposed to take that into consideration when planning their activities—right now, because there is a majority in the Senate (after amendments are proposed, the budget must return to the Sejm anyway) and as a representative of this chamber of the parliament, he will want to "reconcile positions." Asked whether he will fulfill the role of a mediator in the talks with the government, Struzik replied that he certainly would like this problem to be resolved favorably, but he does not know whether a mediator is needed because it was the government that launched the talks initiative. "The fact that the prime minister forwarded such an invitation indicates that we are all looking for solutions."

Marian Krzaklewski said on Gdansk television that he expects the meeting with the prime minister to be long and tough. He believes that a brief talk would mean rejection of "S" demands, and then the union's KK would immediately convene to make decisions concerning means of increasing pressure on the government. "The effect of our activities will depend on the force of the pressure," stated Krzaklewski.

ZZGwP Head Jan Kisielinski told the Polish Press Agency PAP that he does not think that meeting with the prime minister will be the result, among other things, of the "S" action: "Pawlak, at a time when he was not the head of the government, used to say that he attaches great importance to meetings with trade unions."

Weaker Impact

Twelve miners in "Andaluzja" started an underground occupational strike on Monday; they demand immediate talks with the board of the Bytom Coal Partnership on a wage agreement. PAP reports that the mine's directors say that all of the strikers are miners from the partnership's 12 mines; they went underground "without the knowledge and consent of the directors, who are responsible for security."

Piotr Zak told RZECZPOSPOLITA that the protest has nothing to do with the KK action. At the last session of the Protest Headquarters, "miners did not rule out the possibility that there may be individual protests because there are wage problems."

Yesterday's demonstrators handed in petitions and "S" demands to voivodes.

Today, from 1000 to 1200, there will be a strike through the Bydgoszcz Region; however, excluded from the action are the Municipal Transportation Establishments, State Motor Transport, health service, education, etc. The heat energy plant in Elblag has not yet resumed supplying heat to the municipal and voivodship office in Elblag. In addition, one plant in Pila voivodship and several in Konskie, in the Swietokrzyski Region, will go on strike.

Milczanowski Interviewed on Intelligence

AU1503110194 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY (Ekstra supplement) in Polish 9 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski by Katarzyna Nazarewicz and Piotr Zaremba; place and date not given: "Justice Rubs Its Eyes"]

[Text] [ZYCIE] Since 1992, you have changed your mind about separating the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP] from the Interior Ministry. Unlike several months ago, you no longer want the special services, intelligence and counterintelligence, to quickly become independent of the Ministry. Now that your Ministry is under the direct supervision of the Belweder, accountability to the prime minister represents a compromise with the postcommunist coalition. That seems to be the reason you no longer want the UOP to be independent, at least as long as Walesa is president.

[Milczanowski] When I myself was UOP chief, I wanted to move the UOP out of the Interior Ministry. But, to this very day, it is not very clear who the UOP should be answerable to—the president, the prime minister, or both men at the same time. As long as this remains unclear and is not laid down in the Constitution, one cannot risk causing an organizational mess in this vital

sphere. But, frankly, it is questionable to have an intelligence service, involved in foreign affairs, supervised by an interior minister.

[ZYCIE] Supervision over the intelligence service is a political matter because it brings power. The present unified parliament and government have said that intelligence should be removed from the president's control as quickly as possible. But that is not possible as long as it remains part of the Interior Ministry and you continue to defend this state of affairs.

[Milczanowski] All at once I realized that there is no use hurrying with autonomy for the UOP because there are too many power centers that would like to gain possession of it. A new hotbed of conflict between the president, the government, and parliament would appear. I consider myself responsible for the work of the secret services, and, as long as there are no constitutional provisions governing the powers of the executive and the legislature, I will play no part in separating the UOP from the Interior Ministry.

[ZYCIE] As interior minister, you must have your own ideas.

[Milczanowski] I think the president must have the same kind of influence on the hiring and firing of the heads of intelligence and UOP as he already has on the hiring and firing of the interior, defense, and foreign ministers. That way, there is no danger of intelligence working for just one center of authority.

[ZYCIE] You sound convinced that there is a rivalry between the centers of authority in Poland. That is a cause for concern.

[Milczanowski] I do not agree with such rivalry, and that is why I wish to prevent hotbeds of conflict.

[ZYCIE] Many politicians, including Aleksander Kwasniewski, have been expressing their ideas about the new Constitution, and they say that the three ministries under presidential control should be accountable to the president and the prime minister. What do you say to that?

[Milczanowski] I see no problem with that. The Small Constitution and the laws governing the UOP, the interior minister, and the police all stipulate that I, as interior minister, have the duty to inform the president and the prime minister on all important matters concerning state security.

[ZYCIE] Minister Falandysz has said what might happen if the Sejm tried to fire you. He said the president would never agree to the dismissal of one of the three ministers under his jurisdiction, and, if the Sejm passed a vote of no confidence in the government on account of any one of these three ministers, the president would not nominate their successors. That confirms your peculiar status in the Pawlak government. Clearly, it is not the government coalition's wish that you be interior minister. How does it feel to be a foreign body in the government?

[Milczanowski] I have a Solidarity past, and, because of that, I was once in the Interior Ministry leadership. But I do not feel alien in the Pawlak government, and I possess a nonpolitical attitude toward my job.

[ZYCIE] Do you agree with this government's policies? For example, do you accept the Interior Ministry budget?

[Milczanowski] I have to. This is a question of loyalty, apart from which one has to be realistic about the size of the budget.

[ZYCIE] Someone has said mischievously that you are so flexible that you are willing to be interior minister in any government as long as Walesa is president.

[Milczanowski] I see no major difference between the budgetary concepts of the Suchocka government and those of the Pawlak government. The economic facts are harsh. Deputy Prime Minister Borowski's ideas virtually coincided with those of Osiatynski. I am not so interested in the things that lie beyond my ministry's scope. I wish to make it plain that I do not identify with any political party. I am a completely apolitical minister.

[ZYCIE] But you do not deny the fact that you were interior minister in the Suchocka government solely because of the Democratic Union's support?

[Milczanowski] I beg your pardon, but you are not quite right. Indeed, on 5 June, President Walesa invited me to become interior minister. I told him I would like to be UOP chief once again. But the president preferred me to be interior minister, responsible for the entire ministry, and not just UOP. I considered and agreed with a heavy heart. But I imposed a condition. I told him that, if he ever became dissatisfied with me or found someone better to take my place, he must let me know immediately and I would quit within 24 hours, without a word of protest. I never asked any party to support my application to be interior minister in this government.

[ZYCIE] But you remember that it is thanks to the Democratic Union's insistence that you became a minister in the Suchocka government.

[Milczanowski] When I was acting minister in Pawlak's first government and we had a Council of Ministers meeting, it was Jan Rokita who telephoned me and asked me what I thought about Artur Balazs being interior minister and I his deputy. I told him I did not wish to be an obstacle to the formation of a government. I said I did not have to be minister, and I did not have to accept his ideas.

[ZYCIE] But, in the end, the Democratic Union compelled you to join the government. Right now, all of the

post-Solidarity parties are criticizing the Pawlak government. Even Geremek is talking about a postcommunist setup. So how do you feel being in such a government?

[Milczanowski] Statements by people in high places are not proper evidence. I feel responsible for the ministry. I am guided by two criteria: common sense and the interests of Poland.

[ZYCIE] That sounds rather vague. You are just as vague about your successor from the coalition. You say he must be intelligent, experienced, and professional. Have any suitable candidates been found?

[Milczanowski] It is too soon to say.

[ZYCIE] Is Democratic Union deputy Zbigniew Sobotka not suitable?

[Milczanowski] No comment.

[ZYCIE] When will you be able to say something?

[Milczanowski] Soon, perhaps next month.

[ZYCIE] Rokita described your appointment of Gromoslaw Czempinski as chairman of UOP as a slap in the face to all those who joined the Interior Ministry after 1989.

[Milczanowski] The older I am, the greater the doubts in my mind. Is a former Solidarity activist who sat in prison for a while, someone like me, better than a Security Service officer who risks his life for the new Poland? And, if this officer did not risk his life at all, is he better qualified to hold a responsible state post than I am? Perhaps he is better than I.

[ZYCIE] Than why don't you change places with Czempinski? He might be a better minister than you are. Those who are criticizing Czempinski are upset by the fact that he was an intelligence officer under the People's Republic.

[Milczanowski] I do not judge who should be minister. The UOP chief must be apolitical, that is all.

[ZYCIE] Do you really think a UOP chief automatically becomes apolitical when he assumes his post and that his political past is automatically erased?

[Milczanowski] I am acquainted with Czempinski's views, and I approve of them. He also insists that UOP is apolitical. You know why? Because, if someone suffers as much as the Security Service, intelligence, and counterintelligence have done since 1989, one becomes tired of politics. UOP officials are reluctant to indulge in political extremism.

[ZYCIE] What is this extremism today?

[Milczanowski] If some party advocates the use of force as a means of obtaining power, UOP has to know about it.

[ZYCIE] But, in the past, Security Service men did serve a party that ruled by force. After the business with the files and the unsuccessful attempt to uncover Security Service agents, have your views about personnel vetting not changed at all?

[Milczanowski] Several thousand men who worked in the old Security Service have been positively vetted for jobs in UOP and the police. I do not think they should be thrown out just because of their past. Every case of discrimination serves to divide society. We did not fight for a democratic Poland in order to weaken the country's structures. One can build these structures with the help of those who used to be on the other side but who serve Poland loyally today. Today we need solidarity.

[ZYCIE] Does this solidarity also extend to former Security Service collaborators, people who used to secretly inform on their friends and neighbors? Are you still employing informers?

[Milczanowski] It is not out of the question. It is not easy to discuss this matter. Many people find the idea of being an informer disgusting. And yet many informers acted out of patriotic motives.

[ZYCIE] Most informers are paid or simply forced into collaboration.

[Milczanowski] All democratic countries use informers. Without them, there is no question of the intelligence services performing their work effectively. It is difficult to say what makes people inform. A person who informs out of patriotic motives may accept payment that serves to tighten his links to the security service.

[ZYCIE] Are you satisfied with the work of UOP? A UOP report on Zygmunt Solorz, head of PolSat Television, came into the hands of the president, the prime minister, and the chairman of the Broadcasting Council.

[Milczanowski] I am acquainted with this material, and there is nothing else I can say.

[ZYCIE] Can people be placed under surveillance for their political views and connections?

[Milczanowski] We are not engaged in that.

[ZYCIE] You sign every application to install electronic bugs. How many such applications have you approved?

[Milczanowski] I will not say. I even signed a few such applications today.

[ZYCIE] While we were talking to one of the leaders of the present coalition parties inside the Sejm building, he turned on the radio. The reason, he explained, was to fool whoever was eavesdropping on him. You might think he was obsessed with the idea of being bugged, but he is not the only one who is worried about your activity.

[Milczanowski] Who was he?

[ZYCIE] The work of UOP arouses concern among politicians. You are considered alien to all political structures apart from the Belweder. Have you any explanation why people fear you?

[Milczanowski] People are simply used to fearing UOP because UOP is burdened by the history of its predecessor, the Security Service. When I was still UOP chief, I answered telephones from all political groups—left, center, and right. Everyone was convinced they were being bugged by UOP.

[ZYCIE] In political cases, did you ever decide to install bugs?

[Milczanowski] I have already said I did not.

[ZYCIE] If fewer people worked in UOP than did in the Security Service, the Security Service's past would not be such a heavy burden.

[Milczanowski] During my spell in UOP, I got to know these people and learned to appreciate their work. I even grew to like them. If someone wants to be a responsible UOP chief, he has to identify himself with the people under his authority.

[ZYCIE] Why has the Interior Ministry consistently refused to release files on the subject of the slaying of Stanislaw Pyjas, the Workers Defense Committee employee?

[Milczanowski] We do not release material on the subject of personal sources of information. That is a matter of principle.

[ZYCIE] But if you refuse to release material on Pyjas to the Prosecutor's Office so that an impartial court can judge the issue, you are turning yourself into a judge, and a biased one at that. Do you not trust anyone?

[Milczanowski] The files have been examined with a view to ascertaining if any secret informer could have knowledge of the circumstances of Pyjas's death. The answer is no.

[ZYCIE] Who performed this analysis?

[Milczanowski] It was an internal Interior Ministry analysis.

[ZYCIE] But it is the Prosecutor's Office and the courts that should have a chance of assessing this material themselves, independently. You cannot act as a judge.

[Milczanowski] I disagree. I have a lot of experience and a bit of intuition. I know what is involved. As I said, I am opposed to revealing personal sources of information. If anyone compels me to reveal them, I will resign.

[ZYCIE] The Interior Ministry remains outside control. Not even a parliamentary commission could get any information from you. Have you a feeling of not being under anyone's control?

[Milczanowski] No. I might create the impression that I am tough and stubborn, but I am not. I am consistent, that is all. And I do not permit a violation of rules. Am I outside control? Look what the Sejm Commission for Administration and Internal Affairs is doing! Look at what the media are doing! You never leave me alone. You keep picking on UOP just for kicks.

[ZYCIE] That is what we are here for.

[Milczanowski] You ask about the links between the old Security Service and UOP. UOP is not a continuation of the Security Service, and, if I see the need to protect former Security Service employees, I do so for the sake of principles that are in force in every intelligence service in the world. The list of French World War II agents and collaborators is secret to this very day.

[ZYCIE] Have you always been so tolerant of people as you are of former Security Service employees and collaborators?

[Milczanowski] There is one thing I noticed not long ago—that work in UOP makes one tolerant of others. There is a tendency to see things clearly, in terms of black and white, and I have succumbed to this tendency. For me, the greatest difficulty is to see things in halftone, in semidarkness, and to reconcile differences.

[ZYCIE] Is this the result of working for the Interior Ministry?

[Milczanowski] Yes. In the Interior Ministry, one can see the complexity of human nature more clearly than anywhere else. One sees the negative side of the human soul, but also the positive side. In assessments, one cannot exaggerate. Every exaggeration is an offense. That is why I am offended by the extreme attitudes and statements of some people. I am annoyed by all of the sensation-seeking, unfounded statements and unjust accusations, and the manipulation of unverified data for the purpose of political gain. Sometimes, those shouting about being harmed and calling for justice are themselves harming others. What happens to justice then? Nothing. It merely rubs its sleepy eyes.

What do I wish myself the most? I have no major expectations. I would like things to be a little easier, that is all.

New Defense Minister Explains Priorities

AU1503095394 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Mar 94 pp 1, 4

["Exclusive" interview with Gheorghe Tinca, recently appointed national defense minister, by Marius Petrean; place and date not given: "It Serves the Interests of the Army To Have a Civilian as Defense Minister"]

[Text] [Petrean] Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, after more than 50 years, a civilian heads the Ministry of National Defense. Such a political move complies with the requirements of the Council of Europe and NATO regarding the control that should be exerted by civilian society over the armed forces; however, the move was made in the context of a domestic political situation marked by the issue of replacing certain persons in the government team. What were the foreign and domestic factors that led to the appointment of the "civilian" Gheorghe Tinca as head of the National Defense Ministry?

[Tinca] In other countries it is not unusual to have civilians lead their defense ministries. However, in our country, according to our traditions—and history confirms it is a tradition—we have always had a military person run our defense. But why did they appoint a civilian as head of the Ministry of National Defense now? Of course, we should not overlook the need for our country to adjust to international standards; however, that adjustment is not done automatically and in an unconditioned way, but rather by observing our national characteristics and interests. Besides the need to adjust to international standards, the appointment of a civilian as minister of national defense is even more important for the evolution, in a broader sense, of Romanian society. This evolution presupposes a different kind of harmonization of Romania's state institutions, among which the armed forces, as a fundamental pillar, play an important role. Constitutional states presuppose the existence of open societies; of course, the opening of society does not mean leaving the state to be blown away by the wind, or doing away with the borders, state institutions, and so on. That opening means—in contrast to our former state ideology, which was active but stiff, and this finally led to its blocking—that a new framework ought to be set up, in accordance with certain criteria elaborated on the basis of pluralism, to support that evolution. In a word, I am talking about the efforts made to modernize Romania, the Romanian state, and this is the context within which the appointment of a civilian as head of the armed forces should be viewed.

Our integration within the Euro-Atlantic structures is not taking place because the wind is now blowing from a difference direction, but rather because it offers real chances to modernize our country and return to normality in our economic, social, and political life. Despite the difficulties caused by transition, the Ministry of National Defense has achieved important things on the road of reform and those efforts will be continued within the framework of the Partnership for Peace concluded with NATO. Personally, I intend to continue the process of modernizing our armed forces and harmonizing them with our other institutions, and, if I can, to contribute to the furthering of that process.

As a matter of fact I believe that under the current circumstances it serves the interests of the army to have a civilian as defense minister. Being a fundamental institution of the Romanian state—a law-governed country, in which the separation of powers is precisely established by our Constitution—the ministry of defense has to participate in the dialogue that is specific for pluralistic states. At the same time the armed forces ought to concentrate on their specific mission. The presence of a civilian at the leadership of the ministry makes it possible for the military to concentrate on their profession and relieves them from having to deal with a number of things, in which the army—as it turned out—should not be involved. In this way civilian ministers can better defend and maintain the prestige of the army in the eyes of public opinion.

[Petrean] You have taken over the leadership of the National Defense Ministry in a dynamic, but also difficult international context, and that also goes for our national security. What are your "tactical" priorities?

[Tinca] When talking about national security, many people think solely of the army. There are times, when the army really plays the leading role; however, there are other times, when diplomacy does. In my opinion, the decisive role is always belongs to economy. In the current context, besides the importance of the economy, I think we are witnessing times when diplomacy and defense policy should merge in a singular effort to ensure the security of the country; both the armed forces and diplomacy ought to be in a vigilant state.

[Petrean] How do you assess the process of Romania's Euro- Atlantic integration? What trump cards do you think we are holding in view of the implementation of the ideas of our partnership with NATO, which presupposes a certain degree of compatibility both in the structure and the equipment of the armed forces?

[Tinca] Our trump cards are numerous and important. The first is our country's geographic position, which is a fundamental asset; that position is not merely important for us and this region, but also for the whole of Europe, and in a broader approach, even for the non-European areas neighboring the continent.

Our second trump is economic, and I am referring especially to Romania's industry. It is true, our industry was conceived in a way that later proved to be mistaken; it also needs to be re-equipped. But the existence of our industry is a fact. Well before 1969 Romania was already covering the largest part of its needs in defense equipment from its own sources and—from this point of view—it was greatly independent.

There is yet another trump card, about which we talk a lot, although we do not seem to be much convinced

about its value: the human factor. There are 23 million Romanians—not to mention the ones living outside our borders—who can read and write; there are 23 million Romanians who were involved in immense efforts, even if some of those efforts were made to achieve projects that later proved to be lacking viability. Let us not forget that all those projects were completed by experts and those experts still exist.

[Petrean] Our Euro-Atlantic integration is one of the very few issues regarding which there is almost complete consensus among our political forces. How do you assess your future cooperation with the political parties?

[Tinca] I believe that the phase we have already gone through was more simple than the one that follows, because both the country's integration within the European Union, and the one within Euro-Atlantic structures will now enter the phase of deeds. Declarations, manifestations of political will are very important and serious things, and quite often it is not very easy to adopt them. However, in the coming stage we will have to take a great number of practical measures which may demand certain sacrifice on behalf of one part of society in order to achieve progress in another. There will be political interests that probably will not always coincide.

That is why in the future stage, on the basis of the existing consensus regarding our country's Euro-Atlantic integration, it is very important that the bearers of various political interests—the parties—should continue their dialogue and cooperation. It will be a process of permanent negotiations, in which all will have to set out from one principle, namely that when all is said and done we all desire the same thing: the modernization of Romania. I dare assume that the needs of the armed forces will be given special attention, as this is an issue of national interest.

[Petrean] You are a career diplomat, directly experienced in issues such as relations with various international bodies, problems of international security, arms control, and disarmament. What are the advantages and, if any, the disadvantages of your experience as a diplomat who has now become minister of defense?

[Tinca] My 28-year experience in diplomacy means a plus in certain domains: First, diplomacy is the science of knowing how to conduct negotiations, and that is a "school" that we politicians should all have graduated from. Diplomacy teaches one how to be flexible, but not in a gratuitous way, but rather as a method to achieve a general goal, such as, in my case now, the security of our country. Besides this, diplomacy is an experience that also lends one the ability to really "feel" one's partners, and a profession that furthers one's ability to behave calmly, tactfully, and wisely. Common sense, honesty, and loyalty are other such positive traits that may be added the ones I mentioned before.

On the other hand, I believe that it is also a handicap for me. The nature of my diplomatic experience (in security and disarmament issues) makes me able to perceive the entire volume of the things I ought to achieve, and, considering the dimensions of those tasks, I feel overwhelmed to a certain extent. On top of that, I am the sort of person who always tries to achieve perfection.

I am certain that I will be well understood—even if not right away, but very soon, I hope—by our officers' and command corps. I am also convinced that my good intentions, good faith, and sense of responsibility for the fundamental interests of our country will be fully perceived, and that our work relations will be based on my respect for the armed forces, on perfect sincerity, and honesty. It is to my real satisfaction and it makes me optimistic that—having to deal with the army—these relations will be definitely manly ones, which I have always liked.

Army Officers 'Tense' Over Tinca's Appointment

AU1403193294 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Mar 94 p 3

[Dorina Baesu report: "The Atmosphere in the Army Is Tense"]

[Text] Sources within the armed forces have told us that the atmosphere is currently very tense among the officers, and even among the lower ranks, owing to the appointment of the new [national defense] minister, Gheorghe Tinca. First, because for the first time a civilian—who is not familiar with military issues—is leading the armed forces, and second, because many of the members of the Army Intelligence Direction claim that Tinca used to work for the Securitate, more precisely for SIE [Foreign Intelligence Service]. During the reign of the deceased [former dictator Nicolae Ceausescu] it was known that the Army and the Securitate used to loath each other. The memory of those times still persists. Had it not been for the precedent of the CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army, an organization of young officers immediately after December 1989], when the attempt by certain officers to revolt against the army leadership was suppressed, many officers would now react more harshly, the sources said.

Justice Minister Labeled PUNR 'Sympathizer'

AU1403193194 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 11 Mar 94 p 4

[Report by Crina Nedelcu: "Ioan Gavra Admitted That the New Justice Minister Is a Sympathizer of the PUNR"]

[Text] During a National Romanian Unity Party [PUNR] news conference held yesterday, [Deputy Party Chairman] Ioan Gavra admitted that on 1 March the PUNR leaders examined the personalities of the experts proposed [by the government party] to take over the leadership of the Justice Ministry and the Transportation Ministry, and they supported the persons who were appointed as ministers on Sunday [6 March].

Ioan Gavra stated that Iosif Gavril Chiuzbaian was proposed as a candidate for the Ministry of Justice by Pavel Suian, brother of Valer Suian, first deputy chairman of the party [PUNR].

Horia Pop [Brasov PUNR deputy] added: "It cannot be excluded that he will join the PUNR in the future."

Talking about the second stage of the government reshuffle, Gavra asserted that the new ministers will also be technocrats: "In the end, the government will consists of more experts than Social Democracy Party of Romania members, because we need experts to pull the country out of the current crisis."

Iliescu Reportedly Backs Nastase as Successor

AU1503094694 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Claudiu Harceaga: "Good-bye Hope! At a Meeting With Heads of Other States, Ion Iliescu Introduces Adrian Nastase as the Future President of Romania"]

[Text] We have learned through foreign diplomatic channels and from well-documented and verified sources that Ion Iliescu, at various meetings held with leaders or prime ministers of other countries, is introducing Adrian Nastase [president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian parliament and leader of the ruling Social Democracy Party of Romania, PDSR] as the future president of Romania. If Nastase is not present at the respective meeting, the current president is recommending him to foreign diplomats as the major partner for dialogue in his absence and the person who will accomplish the reform and the current political orientation (which is basically a neocommunist orientation!) of Romania. The respective situation should not surprise us if we recall the behavior of the president of the Chamber of Deputies in the past year: He blocked the extraordinary session of the parliament in December 1993, has come closer to the tough wing of the PDSR, and mainly, repeatedly threatened that if the opposition continues to support the idea that His Majesty Mihai I of Romania is the only solution for pulling Romania out of crisis, the party that he leads will institute a dictatorial regime.

Thus, after confiscating the revolution and after pushing the country into chaos and poverty, Ion Iliescu is not letting things slide but is carefully preparing our future. Considering that at the next general elections the current president of Romania will not be able to run for office again, and that the levers of a rule-of-law state (is it indeed a rule-of-law state?) are in the hands of the ruling party, it is obvious that the PDSR president must "graduate" on time from Ion Iliescu's political school.

Iliescu Cited on Visits to ROK, PRC

AU1503060094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Romanian President Ion Iliescu returned to Bucharest this evening after a week-long tour of Lithuania, South Korea, and several economic areas in the south of China. At Otopeni airport the Romanian head of state made a statement to the press on the results of his talks and contacts with politicians and businessmen in the three countries.

Referring to his visit to Lithuania, Iliescu emphasized the importance of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries, which augments the series of legal documents regulating the framework of bilateral relations. Both in Lithuania and in Belarus, where he made a stopover and met with the new head of state, the sides expressed the desire to consolidate bilateral ties.

The Asian tour started with a visit to the ROK, the first official Romanian visit to that country at the level of heads of state. The visit, President Ion Iliescu said, was a political event that was given its due attention by both the mass media and the political leadership of that country, which expressed the desire to consolidate relations with Romania. President Ion Iliescu emphasized that our country should show greater interest in South Korea and the economic region of southeast Asia in general since that is the most dynamic region in the world. In this respect, he referred to various aspects of his meetings with the representatives of some big companies that have cooperation relations with Romanian companies. On the occasion of those meetings, the local businessmen expressed their interest in investing in the Romanian economy.

Referring to his visit to the special economic zone in the southern part of China, Ion Iliescu described it as an area that has registered spectacular progress in the past 15 years, which took concrete shape in the development of several strong urban centers. Foreign capital investment in the region has acquired great proportions, with the respective zones dynamizing the entire Chinese economy, which is in full process of modernization and has taken a decisive turn toward the mechanisms of the market economy.

In conclusion, President Ion Iliescu said that the tour, which is part of a program of opening up toward regions of great interest, has been characterized, on the one hand, by a highlevel political dialogue to consolidate bilateral ties and, on the other hand, by important economic considerations, something that could also be seen from the composition of the Romanian delegation.

Vacaroiu Briefs Press on Economy, Reshuffle

AU1403155294

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1005 GMT on 14 March carries a live

relay from Victoria Hall in Bucharest of a news conference by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu on economic, agricultural, and reform issues and the recent government reshuffle.

In his one-hour introductory statement, Nicolae Vacaroiu discusses the government's activity over the past year and five months and the "difficult period Romania experienced in 1993," which, he says, "will continue in 1994." He says that the government carried out his activity on the "basis of the government program and strategy" aimed at "implementing the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] policy, that of the ruling party."

Vacaroiu says that 1993 was "the first year in which we succeeded in stopping the decline of production." He stresses that "Romania's foreign debts did not increase in 1993" and that "priority was given to agriculture, which is the branch that has to ensure the consumption base for the population." After pointing out the potential that exists in this area, he stresses that "the association and privatization process has to be intensified" and "agricultural machinery and equipment have to be ensured." Vacaroiu points out that "although we have recorded an increase of 12 percent in agriculture on the whole, we are still faced by particularly difficult problems," especially in the "animal-breeding sector."

After emphasizing that the transition process is much more complex than expected and that one of the "essential problems is changing the mentality of people, and their adjustment to a market economy," Vacaroiu says that a "radical change" is needed and trade companies have to adjust "while we move on."

Discussing 1994, he predicts a "slight economic increase." He continues to say that the "GNP is estimated to grow by 1.5 percent in 1994, industrial output by 2 percent, and exports by 7 percent, while imports are expected to decrease by 2 percent." He assesses that the unemployment rate will be 12 percent and consumer costs will increase 15 percent. After stressing that the price increase was 295.5 percent in 1993, while that of net incomes was only 210.6 percent, thus causing a decline in the standard of living, Vacaroiu says that at the end of 1993 the average pay was 54 percent compared with that in 1990.

Discussing priority goals for 1994, Vacaroiu says that the "main goal in 1994 is to relaunch and stabilize the economy," increase "the coherence of the economic and social reform process," with "emphasis, of course, on the restructuring, privatization process, and on social protection." He assesses that the standard of living "will not deteriorate in the first half of 1994," but that it will even "increase 10 percent" in the second half of the year.

After stressing the need to "invigorate Romanian industry along with the restructuring and privatization process," Vacaroiu mentions the "measures included in the memorandum with the IMF."

Discussing industrial production in January, he says that it "increased 1.8 percent compared with last December and 5.5 percent compared with the previous January," while "productivity increased 1.6 percent compared with December and 10.1 percent compared with January last year."

The prime minister warns, however, that this does not mean that "things are back to normal," but that Romania is still experiencing a "particularly drastic economic crisis" that may still have "harsh negative effects on the economy and life in general."

After discussing the "January surplus trade balance," Vacaroiu stresses that the foreign currency policy is of great importance, since it is the one to "contribute to macroeconomic stability." He continues to discuss other banking and state budget issues.

Regarding the restructuring program and the privatization process, Vacaroiu discusses procedural matters and the important role to be played by the stock exchange.

At 1047 GMT Prime Minister Vacaroiu begins discussing the recent government reshuffle, explaining the reasons behind the replacement of the four ministers of defense, interior, justice, and transportation.

He admits that "we are still facing great problems in the area of corruption, violations, and tax evasion." In connection with the replacement of the minister of defense, Vacaroiu says that "Romania's Army has to represent a symbol of the country, it has to guarantee stability, credibility, and must by no means be involved in various disputes—political or of any other nature."

After presenting the merits of each newly appointed minister, Vacaroiu speaks about the problem of financial blockage and the need to eliminate it.

Discussing agricultural issues, Vacaroiu points out actions that have been taken to support this sector "with certain sums of money from the budget," through the "sale of agricultural machinery and equipment on credit," and through "priority actions in the area of privatization."

Vacaroiu concludes his introductory statement by emphasizing that "a number of actions have been taken" to "give an impetus to small-and medium-sized private entrepfeneurs" in order "to guarantee their financial sources."

Article Examines Possibility of Reunification

AU1503093094 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Mihail Mihailescu: "The Dukedom of Bessarabia"]

[Text] Ruining the favorable moment for the country's reunification—something that could even mean losing Bessarabia for good—is subtly and indirectly blamed by

the government on the empire in the east that desires restoration and that cannot be stopped by the West. Indeed, Russia has economic and strategic interests in Bessarabia and certainly wants to preserve its former assets in spheres of influence. Similarly, the West does not have a clear idea of the identity of Bessarabia as Romanian soil. The West knows that Russia has to be protected to avoid a large-scale explosion. These things, however, are not the explanation for the fact that nothing has come of our country's reintegration.

It was simply the stubbornness of Snegur [Moldovan president] and that of the communist oligarchy to preserve their privileges, or to be more than they were after the collapse of the Soviet empire. In 1991, under Snegur's leadership, Bessarabia proclaimed its independence and called itself the Republic of Moldova. The Romanian Government acclaimed it. Since the situation was not yet clear, Mircea Snegur was talking about the development, over a short period, of the Republic of Moldova, after which the problem would be posed of returning to the mother country, "as would be normal."

Snegur and the others began their game. First, one by one, they rid themselves of the patriotic intellectuals, who demand unification. Then they accepted assistance from Romania on the grounds of a brother in despair, only to turn to the Russians, from where they get their fuel. In this way they are able to maintain a minimum standard of living, which, however, offers a certain stability and the possibility not to begin the reform process.

It never crossed their mind to open the border with Romania. All this time, Bessarabia is conducting fierce propaganda for the independence of the great republic. The war in the Dniester region was a break during which it consolidated its popularity—there is someone who earnestly concerns himself with the country during hard times. In actual fact, however, Snegur lost the Dniester region.

Then came the climax—the 27 February elections and 6 March referendum. Snegur gathered around himself all former communist nomenklatura members. He turned definitively toward Russia, promising that he would stay in its sphere of influence. He lashes out at Romania because it is the only one that can take away his power—by annexing Bessarabia. In Mircea Snegur's view, the Romanians and Bessarabians are not only not the same people, but not even brothers. And soon the Romanian language will probably be prohibited in Bessarabia.

All this was possible with the help of a good friend from Romania—President Ion Iliescu. Both have studied in Muscovite schools. The similarity in the way Snegur and Iliescu developed is striking. Iliescu organized a referendum and the Constitution was adopted—Romania became a semi-presidential republic. Through the elections in 1992, Iliescu has a parliament, which he controls. Snegur has a puppet parliament and, through the referendum on independence, he became the great communist duke of the Dukedom of Bessarabia. Iliescu tramples on the fallen heroes of December 1989. Snegur tramples on the heroes fallen in the Dniester war. Iliescu loses Bessarabia, Snegur loses Dniester. Both are sending out signals of love to Moscow.

Terrible times are in store for Bessarabia—it is much easier to install an absolute dictatorship in a small dukedom. And, as long as the Iliescu bloc is in power, not much can be done for Bessarabia. History can no longer be falsified—the monarchy brought Bessarabia back to the country, the Iliescu bloc lost it.

And a question—if Romania were to claim Bessarabia, would Snegur call the Russians and would he shoot at the Romanians?

Muslims Violating Sarajevo Cease-Fire

LD1403234894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2338 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Mar 14 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces violated the ceasefire on the Sarajevo front several times on Monday, Bosnian Serb republic military sources said on Monday evening.

The command of the Sarajevo-Romania Corps of the Bosnian Serb army said in a statement that Moslem forces threw hand grenades and fired rifle-launched grenades at Serb defense lines on the Rajlovac front and that Moslem forces made provocations with infantry weapons in the area of Vrbanja Most and at the Ilijas front. Moslem snipers were not silent either and their targets were the barracks in Rajlovac and in the suburb of Faletici.

Moslem units carried out civil engineering works in the area of Mrkovic and the Jewish cemetary as well as along the lines of separation with the Serb forces on the Ilidza front. The Moslems are trying to advance their positions towards the Serb forces before the very eyes of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], which has been acting as a buffer between the warring sides following the withdrawal of heavy artillery from the Sarajevo area, the statement said.

Serb Official Cautions Against Arrival of Turks

LD1403161494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Salonika, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Biljana Plavsic, deputy president of the Srpska republic, who is on a visit to Salonika, has said that the possible arrival of Turkish soldiers in Bosnia could lead to an escalation of war, the Macedonian News Agency [MPA] office in Salonika reports.

If Turkish soldiers were sent to Bosnia the Serb political leadership would not be able to control the reaction of the Serb people, Plavsic said, and added that the Serbs in Bosnia were not defending just their own thing but also the Orthodox faith and Byzantine civilization.

Evangelos Venizelos, representative of the Greek Government, reiterated the Greek Government's position that no Balkan country should be involved in the war in Bosnia, MPA says.

The agency recalls a statement by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias that Greece would consider sending its own Blue Helmets to Bosnia if the UN secretary general accepted the participation of Turkish peacekeeping forces in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia.

UNPROFOR Accused of Attempted Smuggling

LD1403221694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2056 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The general staff of the army of the Srpska republic says that UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] members and UN helicopter units today brazenly violated the UN humanitarian mission and, by openly siding with the Muslim side, threatened the confidence created in our cooperation so far, according to the general staff's information service.

In a routine check at Sokolac heliport, it was found that in addition to a Muslim delegation, UNPROFOR was attempting to transport a large number of packages containing electronic equipment, uncleared documents, and a huge quantity of foreign currency from Sarajevo to Gorazde.

When a control team of the army of the Srpska republic insisted on continuing a thorough search, a member of the Muslim delegation, Edib Bukvic, deputy prime minister in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina government, opposed it. He decided that the delegation should not continue its journey. The two UN helicopters then returned safely to Sarajevo.

The general staff communique says that UNPROFOR had asked for permission from the general staff for the Muslim delegation and the chairman of the Srpska republic commission for POW exchange to be flown by helicopter to Gorazde. It was explained that this was a humanitarian mission that was necessary for the speedier resolution of the POW problem.

The flight was not permitted at first for security reasons, and the UNPROFOR command was advised to recommend that the delegation travel by land. Permission was nevertheless granted after the UNPROFOR command had asked the president of the Srpska republic and after both the Muslim side and UNPROFOR had given firm guarantees about the safety of the flight over the separation lines.

The general staff says that it had been precisely set out that the helicopters could only transport members of the delegation with their personal belongings and lists of POW's. When the helicopters arrived in Sokolac the chairman of the state commission of the Srpska republic was not to be found in either helicopter.

UN Plane Lands at Tuzla Airport

AU1403164894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Report by Enes Osmancevic from Tuzla]

[Text] The first plane landed at Tuzla airport today after almost two years of waiting. The wheels of the plane bearing UN insignia touched down on the runway of the Dubrave airport this morning, or, to be more precise, at 1145. The landing of the first plane at Tuzla airport

passed without any incidents. General Michael Rose, commander of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, was in the plane, as were some of the staff who will take care of the delivery of humanitarian aid to this region in the future.

As we have found out from sources close to UNPROFOR, over the next few days some of the equipment necessary for navigation and fire prevention is expected to arrive at Tuzla airport.

In a way, the landing of the first plane bearing UN insignia marks the fact that Tuzla airport has started functioning. As for the official opening, that will depend on the political decisions made at the level of the United Nations.

UNPROFOR Commander Comments

AU1403180094 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 14 (AFP)—UN commander Lieutenant General Michael Rose made a brief stop Monday at the newly reopened Tuzla airport in northeast Bosnia, as it prepares to restart aid deliveries to the beseiged town.

The British general, head of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, spent two hours at the base which was handed over to UN control last week by the mainly-Moslem Bosnian Army after being closed since May 1992, shortly after the outbreak of the war. Peacekeeping troops have been clearing the airport area of mines left by a succession of Yugoslav, Serb, and Bosnian forces.

Rose had been "pleased" by the advanced state of repairs on the runway, base commander Lieutenant-Colonel Hans Jorgen Nielsen told journalists Monday. Asked about the date of the first flight into Tuzla, Nielsen said it was a "question of days." "We have been ready (...) for four or five days. It will come when the politicians have taken a decision," he explained.

The first arrival will be an UNPROFOR flight bringing technical material to prepare an airlift of humanitarian aid for the people of northern Bosnia, who are surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces.

SDA Rejects Mostar as Center of Croat Canton

AU1403205894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Mostar cannot be a divided city, and the Bosniak Muslim people will never agree to this long-suffering, massacred, and humiliated city becoming the center of a canton with a Croatian majority. This is the view of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Mostar.

Such an outcome of a 10-month-long siege of Mostar by the Croatian aggressor would present a direct award to the attackers, who have committed unprecedented crimes in this region against the Bosniak Muslim people. Contrary to such a regressive option, the Bosniak Muslim people from Mostar and the Neretva River valley are committed to an open and cosmopolitan city. The political representatives of this nation at all the future political activities aimed at solving the Bosnia-Herzegovina drama will promote only this option, based on five strategic principles, including the demand that all the expelled and displaced people of Mostar and the Neretva River valley return to their homes of origin, where their personal safety and protection of property will be guaranteed, that the crimes and criminals on all the warring sides are punished, and that, in future solutions for Mostar—in accordance with the initiatives of the European Union—their direct participation in the administration of this city is guaranteed.

These are the fundamental commitments of the SDA for Mostar, whose newly appointed municipal committee again reiterates that there can be no deviation from the party program defined clearly earlier, and the principles of the struggle for Mostar and its fate.

As Mr. Safet Orucevic, chairman of the municipal committee, stressed, the SDA for Mostar extends its full political support to the Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation led by Mr. Alija Izetbegovic in its attempts at definitely solving the bloody Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis through political means.

Balladur Denounces UN Decisionmaking Procedures

BR1403143394 Paris LIBERATION in French 14 Mar 94 p 16

[Article by Dominique Garraud: "French in Bihac Receive Shelling and Prime Minister"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After arriving in Bihac, Edouard Balladur denounced "the often excessively long delays, and overponderous administrative procedures and policies," which prevented any effective response being made to the acts of aggression to which UN troops are falling victim. "I believe it is essential that the decisionmaking process at the United Nations is such that the effectiveness of responses can be assured under good conditions whenever a response is required. Too frequently this is not the case." In the case of the Serbian tank aggression, "once again, it took more than one hour for the administrative procedures to run their course," affirmed the prime minister.

According to the military personnel on the ground, the request to respond has been made at 2217 local time by the commander of the French battalion, and the green light was only given by the UN special representative, Mr. Yashusi Akashi, (the sole individual there empowered to order an air strike) at 2315 [local time]. This version of events was implicitly confirmed by a NATO spokesman in Rome. He indicated that the two aircraft

which arrived over Bihac received shortly afterwards the order not to intervene because "the shooting had ceased."

Edouard Balladur had come out with his reproaches Sunday morning, during a talk with Yasushi Akashi in Zagreb. He announced that, together with [Defense Minister] Francois Leotard and Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, he would "study the proposals that might be made with a view to accelerating the process so that decisions to respond be made in time and not when the moment had passed. It is essential that our troops benefit here from optimal conditions of safety and protection, because they are not indulging in warring activities, but participating in humanitarian operations."

The criticisms made by Edouard Balladur echo those made by General Cot, the UNPROFOR commander, who—back in January—had already taken issue over the ponderousness of the decisionmaking process leading up to an air strike in response [to hostilities in violation of the cease-fire]. At the time he suggested that the UNPROFOR commander be empowered to make the decision. The French Government has also called into question the behavior of the UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia, the British General Michael Rose, who is second-in-command to General Cot. Last Thursday, according to Francois Leotard, the UN troops in Bihac had called for air support "but General Rose had rejected their call." According to French military sources, relations between the French leaders and the British general, who the former reproach for having adopted "too personal" an approach in managing the situation in Bosnia, are not looking rosy.

Paris also fears that Bihac could become a major center of confrontation. Since the beginning of February the latter [not further specified] have in fact reinforced their presence by several thousand men. Within the context of an agreement between the Croats and the Muslims, the railway (along the river Una, in the south of the pocket), which constitutes the boundary, is of great strategic importance, for it represents the sole link between Knin in Serbian Krajina and Belgrade, thereby ensuring the continuity of Serbian territory.

Serbs Blame Muslims for Death of French Soldier

LD1403223694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2227 GMT 14 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 14 (TANJUG)—Troops of the Fifth Corp of the Bosnian Moslem Army are responsible for the death of a French peace-keeper killed last Friday near Bihac (western Bosnia), the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA on Monday evening quoted well informed Serb military sources as saying.

The sources said that they had obtained the information from circles close to the command of the French battalion of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) stationed in Coralici near Cazin.

SRNA recalled that the Serb side was immediately accused of being responsible for the death of the French soldier at one of the UNPROFOR observation posts on the Bihac front although the circumstances and motives for the killing remained unclarified until this very day.

Silajdzic Discusses Vienna Negotiations

AU1403222294 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2115 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Studio interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Robert Hochner in Vienna; Silajdzic statements in English with superimposed German translation—live]

[Text] [Hochner] I welcome Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in the studio. Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister.

[Silajdzic] Good evening.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, the Muslims and Croats have agreed on a constitution in Vienna but not on a new map. What will be the next step—talks on a new map, or talks with the Serbs on the return of territories?

[Silajdzic] Well, let me tell you first that we are very glad that these negotiations are taking place in Austria, in Vienna, because the Austrian Government has spent a great deal of time and energy on this peace process. To answer your question, we are not yet discussing maps. We have to talk to the Serbian side to achieve a final settlement.

[Hochner] It looks as though the Muslims and Croats might form a military alliance. Can you imagine that Croats and Muslims might take joint action against the Serbs and recapture the territories which they claim if no agreement should be achieved on a new map, for example?

[Silajdzic] We believe that this draft constitution is a victory for peace and not for war. But everything is possible after two years of violence. After a very difficult situation of suffering, everything is possible. Yet, as I said, we sincerely hope for peace and not for war. We hope that the human rights mentioned in the draft constitution will have real meaning—the right to life, the right to freedom, the right to free movement, the right to think, and the right to think differently. We hope that these things will be respected. They are all stipulated in the constitution.

[Hochner] The Russians have recently intervened in the peace process in Bosnia. They reportedly cooperate very closely with the United States. However, there are also fears that a new East-West border will be established

politically in the middle of your country. How do you assess the influence of the Russians?

[Silajdzic] Well, I was in Moscow three days ago, and I openly spoke about our worries concerning this kind of Russian engagement. We cannot ignore one fact: that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy visited the occupied part of Bosnia-Herzegovina a few weeks ago, and that he gave nationalistic and incendiary speeches. A few weeks later, Russian troops came to Bosnia without being invited. The Bosnian Government was not consulted, and the troops were deployed on some lines in Sarajevo. We are afraid of a division of Sarajevo. We are afraid of a new Berlin Wall there. We will naturally do everything possible to prevent another Berlin Wall there. But we are worried.

[Hochner] The UN embargo against the rest of Yugoslavia might be used as an instrument to exert pressure on the Bosnian Serbs. Do you believe that a lifting of the embargo might be promised to the rest of Yugoslavia to achieve a compromise among the Serbs in Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] Are you talking about the arms embargo?

[Hochner] I am speaking about the economic embargo.

[Silajdzic] Yes, of course. But that should be done very cautiously. It must be done strictly in accordance with the withdrawal. I think that this is the only effective instrument in the hands of the international community. Unfortunately, the civilian population is affected by the embargo. That seems to be inevitable in order to make the Belgrade regime behave.

[Hochner] Let me ask you a final question, Mr. Prime Minister. The Croats and the Bosnian-Muslim army of the government waged a bloody war against each other. Negotiations are now being held. How stable is the new basis of trust between the two ethnic groups? Do you think it might break again?

[Silajdzic] As I said, everything can happen. Yet a direct and very important result of these talks is a stable cease-fire, particularly in Sarajevo and Mostar. This encourages us and gives us hope to continue. We hope for the best.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

[Silajdzic] Thank you.

Comments on Federation

AU1403202894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Telephone interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Vienna by Nermin Karamehmedovic in Sarajevo on 14 March—recorded]

[Text] [Karamehmedovic] Mr. Silajdzic, let me first greet you, and then ask you to assess the developments in Vienna.

[Silajdzic] As you know, the draft constitution has been completed. The constitution is based on the international subjectivity and integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, so this is an issue of an internal transformation of the constitutional organization. The constitutional solutions remain open to the third side, as does the entire peace process. These are the main points. I can say that the proposed solutions are based on the well-known democratic solutions and the guarantees of the highest standards of human rights, including the collective, individual, and ethnic rights.

The constitution establishes a federation with the usual competencies and the manner of decisionmaking that guarantees the principles of national equality and the influence of the democratic and multiparty political system. The agreement and the constitution imply the mechanisms of integrating Bosnia-Herzegovina into the integration processes, domestic and international guarantees of human rights and, if I may stress, particular stress is placed on human rights in this document, that is, human rights follow immediately after the establishment of the federation. Why? We believe, all of us here, that the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a case of an unprecedented violation of human rights. That means that we have to get used to the fact that human rights are not just an appendage, but rather the main point. We all have to get used to that. We have to try and live by that. All the people, all the individuals, on the territory of the federation enjoy the right to life, to freedom, to equality before the law, to no discrimination based on race, creed, language, political beliefs, and so on. All the people have the right to privacy, to freedom of movement, to asylum, to property, to the fundamental freedoms, the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, the freedom of thought, consciousness, belief, religion, and so on. These are the fundamental freedoms that we will try and apply in reality. They are of course on paper in this document. I would like to stress that. The rest is practically technical stuff.

[Karamehmedovic] You stated yesterday that this document, this agreement, is an important step toward the global solution to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The next step [words indistinct] is an attempt to try and get the Serb side to join the agreement in some form. Are you an optimist in that respect?

[Silajdzic] I must say that I am not. The statements issued by the representatives of the aggressor's side so far do not seem to indicate that they are willing to join this process. We of course wish they would, but if one is to base one's conclusion on the statements that we have heard, then (?that will not be the case).

[Karamehmedovic] Finally, there was an announcement that perhaps next weekend the official signing of the documents could take place, with President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Do you think it could happen within this announced deadline?

[Silajdzic] Yes, Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman would sign the documents concerning the intention to form a confederation, that is, on the international level, and the documents concerning the constitution of the federation. I think that could happen on the 18th [of March], that is, on the set date.

Koljevic Statement on Independent State Proposals

AU1403210094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Statement by Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic, to a group of unidentified correspondents after talks with Russian envoy Churkin in Belgrade on 14 March—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] Was there any talk about the division of Sarajevo? [words indistinct]

[Koljevic] There was no specific discussion about the division of Sarajevo. There were some ideas that everyone would have authority in his own Sarajevo, and it does not need to be called the Muslim Sarajevo or the Serbian Sarajevo. It is far more important for us that people enjoy their political rights on those territories that they control—this refers to Sarajevo—than what kind of a name this will bear temporarily.

[Correspondent] Were there any demands for new territorial concessions, as it is evident that the issue of demarcation...?

[Koljevic, interrupting] No, the demarcation issue will naturally be very difficult; however, the style of these mediators is different. They would not raise an issue that has not arrived on the agenda yet. Above all, they want to create a very solid basis in order to accomplish success and have the most difficult talks about demarcation come last, when it would no longer be possible to cross over into a different situation without an agreement.

[Correspondent] How do you comment on the latest U.S. proposals about the possibility of an independent state of Serbian Republic?

[Koljevic] I think that these are very interesting proposals, however, we must study their legal implications.

[Correspondent] Thanks!

Comments on Negotiations

AU1403165094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president, has just ended his talks with the representatives of the Serbian Republic. Let us listen to the assessment by Nikola Koljevic [vice president of the republic of Srpska]:

[Begin recording] [Koljevic] I believe that the talks were very brief, very concrete, and very efficient. We did not find out in what way and within what framework the next talks will be held, that is to say, in what way the Serbs will be involved, however, we have laid a sort of basis for participation.

It seems to us that prior to any sort of official participation after the signing of the federation agreement between the Muslims and the Croats, we must primarily accomplish peace, sign a document on peace and not about a cease-fire. Namely, the only thing that we can fear is the formation of a new military alliance, while everything else is their free will.

Therefore, first of all we will be interested in establishing peace and in the document about peace, and then in the talks of our side with the federation on an equal footing, which would mean without sanctions.

[Unidentified reporter] Were there any concrete proposals today?

[Koljevic] There were concrete proposals regarding the situation on the ground today as evidently greater efforts are aimed at establishing peace on the ground than on further problems regarding the constitutional order, that is to say, federation, confederation, and with whom. There was some mention of Tuzla, that is, in what way could the Serbian observers be incorporated in light of the fact that the Muslim side had rejected the initial proposal. Also discussed was that, if a sort of federation and confederation is being created, the Serbs would normally be interested in very close links, not to say a confederation, with Yugoslavia. Actually, we have never left Yugoslavia, legally speaking. All these problems regarding the political solution will arise. They were not raised today because the new mediators evidently care most about success on the ground and success with two sides, and to accomplish some success with the third side later.

[Unidentified reporter] Were you officially invited to join the negotiations?

[Koljevic] This was not officially offered to us, because this was not an official meeting. We must create the framework, officially. However, it is perfectly clear that this offer is on the table and will be proposed to us. It is difficult to imagine, bearing in mind that the other two sides have already rejected the possibility of a confederation with Yugoslavia, that this will be a serious option. However, all this will only come into consideration when the official talks with the Serbian side will commence. [end recording]

Serbs Continue Attack on Maglaj

AU1503101394

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 15 March

carries in its regular 5-minute newscast the following reports on the fighting in the republic.

Maglaj correspondent Hajrudin Sermic reports on the situation in the area and says that "several 120-mm howitzer shells were fired at the town center this morning, while antiaircraft machine guns and snipers are blasting away at all the residential areas of the town."

Mirza Sadikovic, reporting from Bihac, says that "since 2200 last night until the time of filing this report, it seems that the fighting has abated somewhat. The Bihac town center and Cazin are being targeted less frequently. However, mortars and howitzers are still targeting the outskirts of both the Cazin and Bihac municipalities, as well as roads and the Bihac industrial zone. Although less intensely, artillery and antiaircraft weapons are still active on the defense lines. There has been an intensification of sniper activity. In the early morning hours, 10 tank and mortar shells were fired at the Grmusko-Srbljanksi plateau and Grabez. Moreover, there was some activity overnight on the (?Stotejski) and Pljesivica part of the front which is part of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] operational zone. Provocations have also been registered last night and this morning on the confrontation lines with the remnants of the so-called para-army of the Kladusa autonomy."

An unidentified correspondent from the 3d Corps Information Center reports that "the cease-fire with the HVO is mostly holding. Only single extremist soldiers have violated the cease-fire with small arms provocations in the Lasva River valley and around Gornji Vakuf."

Correspondent Enes Sakic reports from the 4th Corps Press Center in Mostar and says that "in the region of the North Operative Group, the cease-fire has been observed by both sides. Only the forces of the Serbian aggressor used howitzers and mortars to shatter the calm."

An unnamed correspondent from the 1st Corps Information Center says that "this morning again shows that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army troops are the only ones who are observing the cease-fire, while the Chetniks started their activity early this morning from their positions around the city. A sniper wounded one of our (?soldiers) in the region of Stup, while another two soldiers were wounded in Dobrinja. Therefore, it is to be expected that the chetnik killers, unscrupulous yet sadly unpunished, will today continue their activities, so citizens are warned to exercise the usual caution when moving around the city."

Serbs Attack HVO in Mt Ozren Region

AU1503115494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Report by Smajl Terzic from the 7th South Operative Group Information Center]

[Text] Over the past 24 hours, the chetniks from Bajic Kamen in the Mt. Ozren region used a B-1 gun to shell the village of Sijevo. The enemy is continuously regrouping along the entire 133-km long defense line. Moreover, significant movements of motorized vehicles have been sighted in the region of Kokice and Novi Seher. Our reconnaissance units report that the woods in Sijakovac were ablaze all night, and that it was Croats and Muslims, mobilized in Doboj and Teslic, who were forced to set fire to them. As we file this report, the chetniks are fiercely but unsuccessfully attacking units of the (?111th) Croatian Defense Council Zepce Brigade.

This has been Smajl Terzic reporting from the 7th South Operative Group Information Center.

Martic Threatens To Dissolve RSK Assembly

AU1503082594 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 94 p 10

[Article by Snezana Beric: "Mandator Will Be Discussed at the Next Meeting of the Parliament"]

[Text] Borovo Selo, 9 Mar—"I shall try once more to reach an agreement with both the coalition and other leaders of the parliamentary parties, in order to find a solution for a new mandator in the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. I shall not give up my intention to find a man who is a successful businessman, capable of organizing things well, who works 24 hours a day, and to whom the doors of both the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and the Srpska republic are wide open.

"I already have an idea who that man could be, but I am not going to name him, not yet. But the problem is that he will hardly pass, given such a constellation of forces in the assembly. At the next meeting of the assembly I shall officially put him in for the mandator. The coalition in Krajina's assembly is pushing Milan Babic for the mandator, but he does not meet any of the criteria for that position, and I shall not accept that at any price." Milan Martic, president of the RSK, stated this to POLITIKA yesterday.

Subversive Behavior of Coalition

Yesterday President Martic visited first the community of Mirkovci and the oil industries of Krajina, and then in Borovo Selo he held a working meeting with the representatives of the communities of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, as well as with the representatives of the Serbian army of Krajina and the police. As Martic informed us, the collective conclusion made by all the participants was that local interests must not be placed ahead of state interests, since Krajina is defended by defending each of its regions, so it is necessary to make the things work in such a way that, in the case of aggression in one of Krajina's regions, the military potentials in other parts are automatically activated.

"We have to understand that none of the communities is capable of being a state for itself, and defending itself alone," Martic says.

The president of Krajina spoke most about the recent events with regard to the election of the mandator of the Krajina government, and with regard to trends in the Krajina assembly. According to Martic, the artificially formed coalition in the Krajina assembly is doing a great harm to the state, while certain individuals are trying to get to power because of their own interests and revanchism toward Serbia, and given such goals, they want to make a weapon out of the people and use it against Serbia. "In the Krajina assembly that coalition is violating the constitutional principles, the assembly's boards want to exert the pressure on the government, strip it of its authorizations, and start governing the country by their own rules. Negative consequences of such a behavior can already be felt in the defense system as well, since the laws have been urgently changed following the decisions by those boards, without asking the government for opinion," Martic claims.

"I am determined to prevent that. I am still making efforts to find solutions to make the coalition come to its senses, and to prevent placing the petty partisan and individual interests, particularly by some individuals from Babic's Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina, ahead of the state interests. None of them ran in the elections with a platform promising the collapse of the state. The fact is that they were promising prosperity and the strengthening of the state, and for that reason the people voted for them. However, now they are behaving absolutely subversively.

"If they continue that way, I will have to use my constitutional and legal authorizations to prevent that. According to those authorizations I am allowed to dissolve the assembly in compliance with the requirements of the state of war. That is the last measure I would want to apply, but if I were forced to do that, I would do it. Because the way they are behaving in the assembly surpasses the way in which the Croatian Democratic Community treated the SDS in former Croatia. The only goal of theirs is to attain power, and to turn my role into one matching the role of the queen of England. What they are doing in the assembly is definitely the subversion of the state," Martic claims.

The Krajina Socialists Have Been Asked for Support

"Everything that is happening in the Krajina assembly, and the subversive conduct by the coalition, is orchestrated by Babic," Martic alleges. The situation will depend on how strong the other parliamentary parties and independent candidates are to bring such subversive conduct to an end. Martic met with the representatives of the Serbian Party of the Socialists of Krajina, and asked them for help and support.

According to Martic, the following important task is the strengthening of the legal system. Martic promised that all those who committed wrongdoings that have weakened the economic power of the state, as well as other sorts of wrongdoings, will have to be brought to trial regardless of who they are or what function they are performing. As he pointed out, police inspectors and financial police have already started investigations. Martic maintains that the republic of Serbian Krajina has actually never seceded from Yugoslavia. "It is our task to establish everlasting connections with the FRY, and to join it as a stable state. In order for us to achieve that, the control of the state and of collective assets must be intensified.

"In a day or two I will issue a decree, an order on compulsory work in all the firms in Krajina. We shall introduce a slight form of centralization, in order to

concentrate the control over all the assets in one place, and to improve the apportionment of those assets," Martic says.

According to Martic, at today's meeting, and also at a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, an agreement on the Serbian army of Krajina has been reached.

"The burden of war must be equally carried by all of us, and for that reason we have to put an end to war profiteering. Therefore we need a higher degree of state control. Because of my ideas some people say that I want to establish a police-run state. That is not true. My ideas are only about having a greater degree of discipline, about having a slight degree of centralization of assets, and the introduction of discipline at all levels. Anarchy leads into disaster, and I am not going to allow that," Martic stresses.

Granic Discusses Federation Negotiations

LD1403210394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Studio interview with Mate Granic, Croatian foreign minister and deputy prime minister, by announcer Elizabeta Gojan—live]

[Text] [Gojan] Our guest in the studio is Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister. Good evening.

[Granic] Good evening.

[Gojan] Minister Granic, negotiations within the Croat-Muslim transitional committee ended in Vienna late last night. You took part in the last two days of its work. Tell us what was exactly agreed.

[Granic] We have finally agreed on the constitution of the federation and we also reached a preliminary agreement on the confederation. Today, an agreement on the transitional period was agreed upon; before that a military agreement was signed. We agreed that both delegations should meet in Washington by the end of the week and sign all the agreements in the White House.

[Gojan] This will confirm what has been agreed upon.

[Granic] Correct. A Croatian delegation led by President Tudjman is expected to leave, most probably on Thursday.

[Gojan] The talks yesterday lasted for 14 hours. These were very long talks. Obviously, there were some problems. Can you tell us what the problems were? According to our reports, the Croatian standpoint was well coordinated. It was obviously the Muslim side that had some problems.

[Granic] Problems in connection with certain definitions arose. Each side firmly defended its standpoints. We sought better compromise solutions. The Bosniak side spent more time coordinating its views with Sarajevo than we did with Zagreb.

[Gojan] Tell us what the agreement to be signed by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic in Washington by the end of the week means for the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the Republic of Croatia?

[Granic] The agreement will also be signed by Mr. Zubak, the president of the presidency of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. This also provides a guarantee for the equality and survival of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina at all levels, from the cantons as the basic federal units to the level of the federation, in judiciary, economy, and all other spheres. For the Republic of Croatia it means that an important strategic, political, and economic goal has been accomplished—this represents a link with Bosnia-Herzegovina, a link with the Croat people, and a link with the Bosniak-Croat Federation.

[Gojan] Everyone agrees that the third warring party in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnian Serbs, should, necessarily, be involved as soon as possible. Have you outlined any strategy?

[Granic] We talked, of course, about this. We agreed today that the transitional committee—which negotiated both in Washington and in Vienna—would negotiate with the third party. We also agreed on a strategy for the negotiations. These negotiations will probably start following the signing of the agreement in Washington.

[Gojan] According to Ambassador Redman, the future federation of the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina is expected to have about 51 percent of territory—something that has been denied by Momcilo Krajisnik, who says that 45 percent of the territory is enough. How can the Bosnian Serbs be forced to hand back these territories?

[Granic] At least 51 percent. Everything else is a matter of negotiating positions. Not only the Bosnian-Muslim side but the international community, too, will surely help in bringing about a final solution.

[Gojan] Tell us, do you perhaps know which areas might be at stake? Which side within the Federation of Croats and Muslims may possibly get them?

[Granic] This is a matter of negotiations.

[Gojan] When do you expect these transitional measures to end? Will they function well? When do you expect the federation will be established?

[Granic] Everything that was agreed in Washington has been implemented—even at an earlier stage than envisaged. For example, the Vienna negotiations were expected to wrap up by 15 March. They ended yesterday. Likewise, the military agreement was signed in time. Consequently, there is no doubt that so far everything

has been taking place according to the agreed schedule against the backdrop of positive developments on the ground.

As for negotiations with the third party, there is a great deal of international pressure to the effect that such negotiations should take place as soon as possible. Right now we are talking about the location and organization of these talks.

[Gojan] Recently, in the media, radio, and TV, there has been a considerable degree of confusion about the possibility of the Bosnian Serbs being incorporated into a possible federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including their confederal links with the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Articles have been published here saying that this perhaps means that Croatia's occupied areas would possibly join Serbia.

[Granic] There are two certain things: Croatia will never want anything that resembles Yugoslavia or anything that is any kind of new link or whatever with Yugoslavia. By the same token, the UNPA's [UN Protected Areas] are Croatian territory under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] supervision. They are integral parts of Croatia. This is what we are going to discuss. President Tudjman will give the UN secretary general a full plan of our proposals for a peaceful reintegration of the UNPA's through a new UNPROFOR mandate. We will demand firm support from the United States, the European Union, and other international institutions.

Tudjman, Granic Meet With Churkin

LD1503094194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Text] Last night Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin.

After the talks, Churkin told journalists that appropriate and rapid action is needed to help the three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina find the best solution. He continued: I expect that next week we will launch a peace process which might finally resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Vitaliy Churkin also had talks with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and informed him about his talks in Sarajevo and Belgrade with representatives of the Bosnian Serbs and with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. They agreed that the Bosnian Serbs should be included in the negotiations as soon as possible in order for an integral solution, as well as peace and stability in this region, to be found.

'Fierce' Croatian Attacks on Serb Krajina

LD1503150094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 15 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—The Serb Army headquarters in the republic of Serb Krajina said on Tuesday that the Croatian Army launched, on Monday, a fierce artillery attack on sector south of the republic of Serb Krajina, despite the ceasefire agreement. One Serb soldier was wounded and civilian buildings were considerably damaged in the attack.

The Krajina Serb Army headquarters specified that the Croatian attack, which lasted all day long, started in the wider Kozjan region, southwest of Korenica, which came under tank and artillery fire, spreading then to the entire region along the front line, west of Korenica and Vrhovine.

The headquarters statement said that Krajina Serb forces had responded to all attacks, and the Serb defence line remained stable.

According to the statement, the Croatian Army violated the ceasefire in the territory of the western Slavonija (sector west) on Monday, opening fire from small arms around the forest of Prasnik. The Croatian actions ceased when the Serb troops returned fire, the statement said.

A twice extended ceasefire between the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia has been in force since Christmas. It will be in force by March 31, when the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate in Krajina expires.

The republic of Serb Krajina has been declared by the Serbs in their ethnic and historical territories in Croatia, in response to Croatia's violent secession from former Yugoslavia and the downgrading of Serb civil and national rights by Croatian authorities.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed a U.N. Protected Area in spring 1992 following the conflict between the Croatian Army with the Krajina Serbs and the former Yugoslav Peoples Army. The U.N. peacekeepers have been deployed there under the Vance peace plan. Croatia has launched three offensives on the Republic of Serb Krajina since then, trying to take control of it by force.

U.S. Praised for Plan To Send More Troops

AU1403210594 Paris AFP in English 2047 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Skopje, March 14 (AFP)—Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Monday welcomed plans by the United States to send additional U.S. troops to the former Yugoslav republic to allow Scandinavian troops to be redeployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Defence Minister Vlado Popovski said on national radio: "If the (United Nations) Security Council approves an increase in the number of American peacekeepers or a replacement of the Nordic battalion, Macedonia will respond positively to that decision." Stressing the Scandinavian troops had done a "highly professional" job, Popovski added that he believed their replacement by U.S. forces would send "a warning to possible aggressors" against Macedonia. The minister added: "The work of the Nordic battalion on the northern border (with Serbia) has already led to a decrease in tensions and ensured a degree of stability in the region." [passage omitted]

Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have a total of 800 troops in Macedonia.

Commentary Views Embargo, U.S. Response

AU1403101494 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 11 Mar 94 p 13

[Emilija Geleva commentary: "Greek Embargo or a 'Military Act'?"]

[Text] Washington, March—During the past few weeks U.S. President Bill Clinton has made several important foreign political decisions: the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], the resolute action for stopping the war violence in Bosnia, the Bosnian-Croat agreement, nonetheless he did not leave out the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, which became critical after the massacre in Hebron. In the meantime, he continued with his pressure over Japan because of the large U.S. trade deficit and opened North Korea's doors for the international inspection of nuclear plants.

Therefore, it is no wonder that the majority of Americans are concerned about the President's foreign policy, and our people, on their side, are worried about Macedonia's position in all that, aware that the events in the Balkans are far from a happy ending. Namely, after Greece's latest blockade, it looks as if Greece is once again in the offensive in relation to the Republic of Macedonia, although the West strongly condemned this act.

While the majority of Americans seem to be mainly content with the way Clinton is conducting the foreign policy, the majority of foreign political experts, diplomats, and observers, criticize it for lack of concept, for insecurity of power, for naivete, and for delayed foreign political decisionmaking. What is U.S. policy in the Balkans, naive or thoughtful, timely or tedious?

Many of those following the events in the Balkans, experts and journalists, have for some time warned about the increased danger of the war spreading to the south. Some reporters go so far, for instance the one from the BBC, who explained to his viewers the reason why he left Sarajevo and moved to Skopje from Sarajevo, saying he was now waiting for the war to start in Macedonia. After such statements we cannot but ask ourselves whether it is the journalists who sometimes create events in order to make exclusive reports. Talking about sensitive zones such as ours, or as was in the Gulf, it is known in Washington that sometimes even the U.S. State Department is informed of journalists' reports. Therefore, it is possible to push the events violently and create an image that is totally opposite to reality. Although many such events, terrifying for us, are based on the exclusivity of some journalists at any cost, one should not underestimate the persistent warnings of some experts about spreading the war. However, they are wrong in one thing, in their claims that the war is threatening from the north, totally leaving out Greece, whose present act of a full embargo against Macedonia represents the greatest war threat.

The U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, at the so-called interrogation in the Congress Subcommittee for outside operations on 1 March, said: "As far as Macedonia is concerned, we have a strong feeling for maintaining the territorial integrity of that country. We have 300 soldiers there and we urged all the countries in the region to be concerned about Macedonia. I think its future is of importance for the United States," Christopher emphasized and also added: "We put it clearly to Serbia that if they harmed the independence of Macedonia in any way, it would generate a sound reaction from the United States." This stance was the answer to the question of Congressman Allver, who asked the secretary of state to explain why Macedonia was not mentioned on page six of his statement, where it said that the United States was directing its efforts to the south, to Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. According to the aforementioned explanation given by Warren Christopher, it seems that the document was prepared preceding the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, and it is totally clear that the United States attaches extreme importance to Macedonia on its list.

According to some State Department announcements the situation is cautiously monitored and, if necessary, they are ready to react, which is nothing new, if we recall that last May the Pentagon announced that, in case of a threat to Macedonia, U.S. planes will directly attack Belgrade. Nevertheless, despite such mental acrobatics, there still remains the question of how real the danger for Macedonia from Serbia is, and whether the threat from Greece is not greater. In other words, as a U.S. colleague said, trying to explain the Greek act, when Egypt blocked the Suez Canal in 1967 for Tehran, it was considered to be a war act. Therefore, if there actually is a threat to peace in the south of the Balkans, like he said, it certainly is because of the Greek chauvinism.

The U.S. Administration has, in this context, admonished the Greek act and this was explicitly stated to the Greek ambassador in Washington, Tsilas, at his meeting with the deputy Secretary of State Oxman and Tarrioff [name as transliterated]. Despite all that, the embargo has been carried out for more than three weeks. Therefore, instead of forcing the threat of a war situation from the north, it might be preferable if the West, and even the United States, were more direct toward Greece, because it is not only Serbia's best ally, but with the present embargo against Macedonia, it is clearly generating damage that can push it and the Balkans into an abyss. For the United States there is no dilemma that it would be fatal for the region and that it would provoke conflict within NATO.

The West should ultimately bring its "spoiled child" to its senses and explain to it that there is no more cold war. That is why Greece can no longer write history as it suits it, and claim that Macedonia is an artificial product, forgetting that it was thanks to the interests of the big powers that it once got a part of Macedonia, guaranteed to it with all possible international acts, to which Macedonia has added and continues to offer additional guarantees. Greece should at last stop its hostile propaganda against the Republic of Macedonia, stop claiming that the Macedonian people does not exist, and of course, it should stop interfering in internal affairs by putting forward thousands of conditions. Only the West can awaken it from that dream, before the dream turns into a coma.

Macedonia is not only in the U.S. zone of interest, but also in the Russian, because Russia will not cede the full world's leadership to the United States, especially after it apparently stood on the side of Serbia in the Bosnian war, which implies that its position in the Macedonian-Greek dialogue would be more significant.

Difficulties in Dispute With Greece Viewed

LD1403202594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Article by Miroljub Zaric]

[Excerpts] Skopje, March 14 (TANJUG)—Failure of the last week's efforts by U.N. official Cyrus Vance to mediate in a dispute between Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM) [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has confirmed that, for the time being, neither Athens nor Skopje have any intentions of changing their stands. Greece strongly opposes that FYRM, which seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation in 1991, should be recognized under the name of Macedonia, arguing that the name is related to the Greek history and that it shows Skopje's territorial claims on the Greek province of the same name. When some member-countries of the European Union (E.U.), despite Greek resistance (Greece is also a E.U. member) in late 1993 recognized FYRM and established diplomatic relations with it, Athens imposed a trade embargo on FYRM.

Regardless of the damage caused by the Greek blockade, which adds to almost three billion dollars of FYRM's loss caused by its abiding by U.N. anti-Yugoslav sanctions, FYRM's leadership is not prepared to make concessions and compromises, primarily because of the parliamentary and presidential elections scheduled for November. Three of the four members of the ruling coalition—Macedonia's Social-Democrats, Liberals and Socialists—fear that their yielding in this dispute would make the opposition call them "traitors of national interests." The fourth coalition partner (the Party for Democratic Prosperity) which rallies ethnic Albanians, fears that FYRM might take a name which would point at the Slav features of the nation living in it, thus undermining the party's assertion that "the Albanians represent an autochthonous nation in the territory."

Ethnic Albanian parties in FYRM urge the authorities in Skopje to recognize the status of the Albanian national minority in FYRM as that of a nation. They want to proclaim territorial and political autonomy in western Macedonia, where the Albanian population represents the majority. Political analysts in Skopje assess that the Greek-Macedonian dialogue will yield no results before the elections are completed and the new government established in FYRM, meaning, according to their predictions, that the current state of affairs would be frozen for at least one year's time. [passage omitted]

Such moves, according to observers, aggravate the already bad Greek-Macedonian relations and justify the claims of the circles in Athens that authorities in Skopje have "territorial claims on Greece."

Federal

Jeszenszky Visits, Stresses Improving Ties

LD1303174394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Novi Sad, March 13 (TANJUG)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Deputy Yugoslav Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic on Sunday urged the promotion of bilateral relations so that they could reach their previous levels after the lifting of the international sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Jeszenszky is unofficially in Serbia's northern Vojvodina province since Saturday to attend ceremonies marking the 100th anniversary of the death of Lajos Kossuth, organized by the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM), the national party of the Hungarian minority. "Relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia should not remain at their current level," Jeszenszky told journalists after the talks in Novi Sad. "I hope very much that the inernational community's efforts will result in a peace in the former Yugoslavia and that all people who live here will overcome a difficult period," the Hungarian diplomat said.

Bulajic also expressed hope that the two countries' bilateral relations would soon attain a higher level and, with this in mind, he officially invited the Hungarian president and prime minister to visit Yugoslavia soon.

Jeszenszky also attended a commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the death of Lajos Kossuth held in the Vojvodina village of Novi Itebej, close to the Hungarian Border. The Hungarian foreign minister told the manifestation that it is always better to compromise in conflicting situations than to try to reach solutions by force, and expressed regret that evil and destruction imposed by others are still present in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Recalling the historic role of Kossuth, one of the leaders of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, Jeszenszky said that this was the period when the Hungarians, Serbs, Croats and other nationalities became aware that they have to live together in the Carpathian basin. The only way for their coexistence is tolerance and readiness to make concessions, because in a possible armed conflict all sides would be losers, Jeszenszky said.

The Hungarian press anounced that after Vojvodina, Jeszenszky would leave for Zagreb and Sarajevo.

Autonomy Demands 'Unnecessary'

LD1403204094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Novi Sad, March 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic said that the Hungarian minority in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina already has cultural autonomy so such demands by the National Party of Ethnic Hungarians in this Serbian province are unnecessary. In a statement to Radio Novi Sad, Bulajic specified that the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina had classes in its mother tongue from kindergarten to university, that it had radio and TV programmes in Hungarian as well as its own theatres, cultural, art and sports associations. Bulajic's statement was prompted by his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in Novi Sad on Sunday. Jeszensky urged Yugoslav and Serbian authorities to meet the requests of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM) for a cultural autonomy.

Jeszenszky paid an unofficial visit to Vojvodina to attend the centennial commemorating the death of Hungarian revolutionary Kossuth Lajos which was organized by the DZVM.

Bulajic underscored that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, more than any other neighbouring country, enabled all minorities to exercise their human rights, even beyond the standards and norms stipulated by international documents. Commenting on the conclusions of the U.N. Commission for Human Rights adopted at a recent session in Geneva on an alleged violation of human rights in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Bulajic stressed that the commission was presented with misinformations coming from the secessionist movement of ethnic Albanians in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija. The Yugoslav diplomat said he was confident that such misinformations and accusations did not exist in Vojvodina, because human rights of national minorities were respected in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia more than in any other neighbouring country and even beyond international standards.

Official Accuses Muslims of Provoking Conflict

LD1403211094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2009 GMT 14 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, March 14 (TANJUG)—Islamic countries are trying, in cooperation with the Bosnian Muslims, to provoke a conflict in Raska, a region stretching across both the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, and are, thereby, endangering the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic has said.

In a letter sent to the U.N. Security Council on Monday, Djokic set out that the Muslims in Raska had the same rights as all other citizens of the F.R.Y.

The Yugoslav ambassador said the accusations presented by the member-countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in the letter to the U.N. Security Council of March 3, according to which the Muslims in Raska were victims of repressive measures and persecution, were false and unfounded.

Djokic said the OIC was not only falsifying history with the presented accusations, but also instigating the

spreading of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which its member-countries allegedly wanted to prevent.

Djokic said that what was involved was dangerous interference in the internal affairs of the F.R.Y. and undermining of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. He specified that the alleged territorial and historical individuality of the so-called Sandzak (Turkish name for Raska), on which Islamic countries insisted, reflected the territorial claims of extremist Muslim forces, that is, their wish to include Raska into Bosnia- Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav ambassador said the chief goal was to internationalize the case of "Sandzak" and have the region break away from the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

Djokic said individual incidents in Raska were strictly the doing of terrorist groups, involved in illicit arms trade, which he said instigated rebellion for the sake of creating an independent state of "Sandzak." The Yugoslav ambassador said the F.R.Y. would not hesitate to take all necessary measures to protect its constitution, territorial integrity, and legal order.

The leaders of the Sarajevo-based extremist Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA) for Raska call for the secession of the region, where Muslims account for a half of the population, and its merger with a Bosnian Muslim state advocated by Bosnian Muslim fundamentalist leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Authorities in Serbia and Montenegro recently arrested members of a Muslim terrorist group who were plotting an armed rebellion in Raska. The group leader Sulejman Ugljanin is on the run.

Serbia

Assembly Expected To Elect New Government

AU1403210294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Excerpt] As it is expected, the start of the first regular session of the Serbian Assembly tomorrow will be the sign for the election of the new republican government. Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic will present his program to the deputies and propose the members of the government, on which a discussion will ensue. The deputies will vote for a prime minister and the members of the government, together and secretly, that is, unless the Assembly opts for public voting, of course. The government needs to obtain the votes of a simple majority of the total number of deputies in order to be elected. [passage omitted]

Marjanovic To Address Assembly

AU1503093594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The Serbian Assembly is to start its first regular session today at which it is to elect the new Serbian Government. Zoran Vaskovic reports from the Assembly building.

[Begin Vaskovic recording] Mirko Marjanovic, prime minister-elect, is first expected to present his program and propose the ministers for the new government. A debate is expected to follow. The vote will be in a package, as the saying goes, and secret, unless the deputies decide that the vote should be public. The government will be elected if over half the deputies in the Assembly, that is, at least 126 deputies, decide to give it a vote of confidence. [passage omitted]

Radio Belgrade will broadcast in full the presentation of Prime Minister-elect Marjanovic. At the moment there are still some empty seats in the hall, but the deputies are arriving. This is all for now from the Serbian Assembly building.

Seselj Urges Unification of 'Serbian Lands'

AU1403161494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by M. Mihajlovic: "Time Is Ripe for Great Serbia"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] takes the view that the present moment is the best opportunity for the unification of Serbian lands, Vojislav Seselj, president of the SRS, said at a news conference yesterday.

"If the Bosnian Jamahiriyah can make a joint state with the Croats, who could stop the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], the Srpska republic, and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] from uniting among themselves," Seselj said, adding that one should exploit the West's stands and form a "single, unitary state that could be called Great Serbia. Its internal organization could be discussed later."

The Radicals hold the view that the indecisiveness of the authorities regarding the unification is leading into new diplomatic mistakes, and that the least that should be done at present is to form a joint state of the Srpska republic and the RSK, "with one president, one assembly, and one government."

The Radicals said that they would speed up the initiative they announced last fall on staging a vote of confidence in the federal government of Radoje Kontic, and an action on the replacement of Radoman Bozovic, chairman of the Chamber of Citizens in the Federal Assembly.

In response to a question on the possibility of reshuffle of Radoje Kontic's cabinet, Seselj said that the reshuffle is in fact already completed: "Nikola Sainovic, the exceptionally successful head of the Serbian Government, has been made into the deputy federal prime minister. It remains to be seen whether he will be able to achieve there everything he had achieved as Serbian prime minister," Seselj said, ironically.

The leader of the Radicals first refused to comment on the situation in the Democratic Party (the entry of two members of the Democratic Party into the government), but then immediately said that this was consistent with the SRS' predictions. The Democrats have entered the waters they indicated they would during the preelection campaign. They are wrong, however, if they think that they will benefit from it, as the socialists are crafty. The Democratic Party will be outplayed, Seselj said.

The SRS news conference yesterday was also attended by a crew from Radio and Television of Serbia, after a six-month absence. "They are probably looking for something they can use in the campaign against our party," Seselj explained, denying rumors that there was new, secret friendship between the SRS and the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS].

Churkin Assesses Meeting With Milosevic

AU1403153294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special envoy. After visiting London, Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Pale, the Russian diplomat arrived in Belgrade with a view to finding a comprehensive solution to the Bosnian conflict. Here is a report by Slobodan Jankovic:

[Begin Jankovic recording] The Milosevic-Churkin meting lasted one hour. In a brief statement to journalists afterwards, Yeltsin's special envoy assessed the talks as interesting. Opinions were exchanged on many aspects of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Anyway, these talks were not planned for making important decisions, Vitaliy Churkin said among other things and noted that other contacts were also necessary before he could speak about any progress.

President Milosevic's attitude was flexible as regards the Muslim-Croatian federation, Churkin said and added that he personally was encouraged by the fact that the agreement on the federation could lead to a final peace solution. Churkin did not want to give a specific answer to the question as to what proposals he had brought to Belgrade, defending this discretion with the simple explanation that deliberations were still involved that were part of a permanent process. He said that, already in the afternoon, he was again leaving for Zagreb to continue his mission there. In reply to a journalist's question as to what would happen if the Serbian side refused to join the federation, Vitaliy Churkin said that refusal was not what the Serbian side had in mind when contemplating this idea. He reiterated that it was the turn of the Bosnian Serbs' to decide what they would do. They need time to study the agreement carefully, Churkin said and stressed that he believed that everything would proceed in the direction of incorporating and not rejecting the idea on confederation. [end recording]

Encouraged by 'Flexible Attitude'

AU1403205194 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Statement by Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of Russian President Yeltsin for former Yugoslavia, to Snezana Rodic in Belgrade on 14 March; all questions and answers in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian—recorded]

[Text] [Rodic] How do you assess the talks with President Milosevic?

[Churkin] I believe that this was a very interesting conversation in which all the problems in the former Yugoslavia were thoroughly examined. This was not a meeting at which decisions would be taken. We need further contacts before we can report some progress.

What I have detected is that at least in this phase, when, as is my understanding, the Serbs are in the initial stage of examining the confederation concept and other elements connected to it, President Milosevic has a rather flexible attitude. I am particularly encouraged by this and convinced that this initiative and the Muslim-Croatian arrangement in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be incorporated in the search for an overall political solution to the problems.

[Rodic] Did you bring any new proposals?

[Churkin] I offered some thoughts and impressions after the talks that I have held in the last few days; however, this is part of a continuous process. I am travelling to Zagreb today. I believe that the attitude of President Milosevic toward these issues is very flexible and constructive and I am satisfied that he is also thinking about ways not to reject the new ideas but to examine all possibilities that will contribute toward the overall political solution, bearing in mind also the idea of confederation.

Milosevic To Help Solve UN Convoy Problems

LD1503133494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 15 March (TANJUG)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata has said that her talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "were very comprehensive and beneficial."

President Milosevic today received Ogata, who is staying in our country at the invitation of the federal government. In a brief statement after the meeting, Ogata said

that she had talked with President Milosevic about problems relating to humanitarian convoys for ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina and about the problem of refugees.

Ogata stressed that she had received assurances from President Milosevic that he would help in solving the problems facing humanitarian convoys.

Montenegro

President Says FRY 'Cannot Be Bypassed'

LD1203174194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1548 GMT 12 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, March 12 (TANJUG)—President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic has stated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) is the factor that cannot be bypassed in establishing peace in the Balkans so the respect of its state and national interests would help stabilize the region.

"Policies which do not respect the real state and national interests of Montenegro and Serbia, or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), cannot secure peace and stability in the Balkans," said Bulatovic in an interview to the NOVI SAD DNEVNIK weekly published in the Serbian province of Vojvodina.

Hoping in a soon end of the "isolation, sanctions, and international oppression being applied to the F.R.Y.," Bulatovic said that "those wanting to exhaust ourselves totally can no longer justify to their general public the senselessness of everything that has been undertaken against the F.R.Y."

In May, 1992, the U.N. imposed comprehensive rigorous sanctions on the F.R.Y. for its alleged involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where, however, there have never been any Yugoslav soldiers.

"Today it is clear to everybody that the Bosnian question is being used in an attempt to solve the fate of NATO, relations between America and Russia, global unity within the European Union (E.U.), and open pretensions of Japan and Germany to become permanent members of the U.N. Security Council," said Bulatovic.

He pointed out that the road now followed by the Yugoslav republics Serbia and Montenegro was neither easy nor entirely certain, but this was the only possible road "in keeping with the historical, state and national interests."

He reiterated a joint stand by Montenegro and Serbia that the Serb people outside the F.R.Y. were entitled to exercisinig their freedom and equitable position that presumed also the right to self- determination which had already been used by other nations in the former Yugoslavia.

Denying the right to self-determination to the Serb people in the forcibly seceded ex-Yugoslav republics was one of the principal causes of the current war in the areas of former Yugoslavia.

Serbs 'Hunting Down' Muslims in Sandzak

AU1403130594 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 4-11 Mar 94 p 9

[Article by Slobodan Rackovic: "All of Sandzak Stands Accused"]

[Text] The prisons in Sandzak could get overcrowded, for the Montenegrin-Serb police are very eager to arrest all "suspicious Muslims," regardless of which party they belong to, although, at the very beginning, the action to "preserve the territorial integrity of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]" was directed exclusively at the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] or, to be more precise, toward its leadership. (The Montenegrin MUP [Ministry of Interior] reported several days ago that they had arrested the 13th "Muslim extremist"—another four are still at large—but did not say which party he belongs to.) Practically every Muslim is a suspect here in Sandzak and some municipal assemblies, such as that of Bijelo Polje and Berani, publicly gave the police "the green light" to continue hunting them down. It is no longer a secret that they are after all the Muslims, who have suddenly also lost the right to their nationality (in their reports, the MUP of Montenegro refers to them as people "of Muslim religion," ignoring their nationality!), for they allegedly did not disassociate themselves from "those who want to break up Yugoslavia." Radonja Zekovic, the famous Serbian chauvinist and member of the militant National Party, uttered the following threat to all Muslims at the session of the Bijelo Polje Municipal Assembly: "The only thing you do is to demand rights and you do not fulfill your obligations to your native country, with which there is no bargaining." His words met with wide approval of committee members of the ruling DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists], who say they are a civic party. Naturally, in that tub-thumping atmosphere, which has nothing to do with parliamentarianism, the proposal to ban the SDA, as well as the Liberal Union and the Social Democratic Party, was accepted with loud cheers. The same scenario was realized even more easily in Berani, which was a well-known Greater-Serbian chetnik stronghold during World War II.

The Muslims will, therefore, continue to be persecuted wherever they are and it would not be surprising if "honest Muslims," who (out of fear or naivete) are now hiding in the ruling DPS, will be treated in the same way. If it is any consolation to them, it will not be much easier for those who associate with them either, whether in parties or privately, those who are, as a rule, authentic Montenegrins who do not admit to be "of Serbian origin" at all and advocate an independent state for Montenegro. It is precisely those people and professionals like Vladan Djuranovic, Ranko Vukotic, Vesna

Rajcevic, and Velibor Markovic, as well as Velija Muric and Agil Nasufovic, who have engaged in futile efforts to represent the 13 arrested Muslims from Pljevlje, Bijelo Polje, Rozaj, Berani, and Petnjica, who are now in prison (almost all of them since 26 January this year) and the four others who are on the run, all accused of "breaking up Yugoslavia." However, they are almost helpless and, in a month of pretrial detention, which has now been illegally extended, they saw their clients once for half an hour while the latter did not manage to see their families at all.

Defense attorney Ranko Vukotic said the following: "This is an unprecedented violation of all the defense rights in the legal system since the time of Cominform. The television spectacle in which the suspects presented hidden weapons was arranged specially for that occasion, and was carefully aimed at preparing the public. Every voice that demands that the Constitution be respected, is, regarding this case, treated as belonging to traitors or to the enemy." His colleague Velija Muric claims that human rights were not denied in this way even to the most notorious war criminals. Both attorneys point out that it is now most important to end this unconstitutional investigation that which denies the accused's rights to have defense attorneys and that defendants should be given a public trial.

The situation is the same in Novi Pazar, where a trial of 25 Muslims, most of them SDA activists, is under way; they are accused of the same "crime"—"having weapons and breaking up Yugoslavia." Those people, most of them from Novi Pazar, have already endured the worst—beating and police pressure in pretrial detention. Owing to the lack of evidence, the trial, which has unprecedented security measures, is very sloppy: It is often interrupted, and the accused deny everything that they admitted during the pretrial investigation, claiming that they did so under duress.

"The investigation was a scandal and a travesty of justice as it was arranged to make the our defendants look guilty. This is a purely political process," says a well-known Belgrade attorney, Rajko Danilovic, and attorney Azem Vllasi agrees with him and is optimistic about the outcome of the trial.

"It is good that the trial was open to the public, so the domestic and international public will be able to find out what this is all about. People who sympathize with the accused know the truth, but the authorities, which want this trial, are creating more tension and distrust, although that is another unpleasant factor for them," says Vllasi.

However, with regard to the domestic public, it seems that Mr. Vllasi has no good reason for his optimism. Admission to the court house in Novi Pazar (and it will be like this in Bijelo Polje too) can only be gained by regime journalists of Podgorica and Belgrade's state media, who have already passed judgment on the accused. We know how the international public will, on the other hand, find out something more about the motives and goals of those trials through its journalists, who are hard to find indeed, and through diplomats in Belgrade who are following the trial in Novi Pazar and will certainly be following the one in Bijelo Polje as well, which is bound to have higher ratings because of the higher "ranks" of the arrested SDA leaders.

The Yugoslav authorities will, no doubt, realize their goal—they will definitely destroy the SDA in Sandzak as they have all the state instruments necessary to do so. It will be the first time since 1946 that a legitimate and legally registered party is banned in Yugoslavia, this time significantly broken up, which shows that there is actually a quasi-pluralism in the deeds of the Montenegrin-Serbian federation, just as there was right after World War II.